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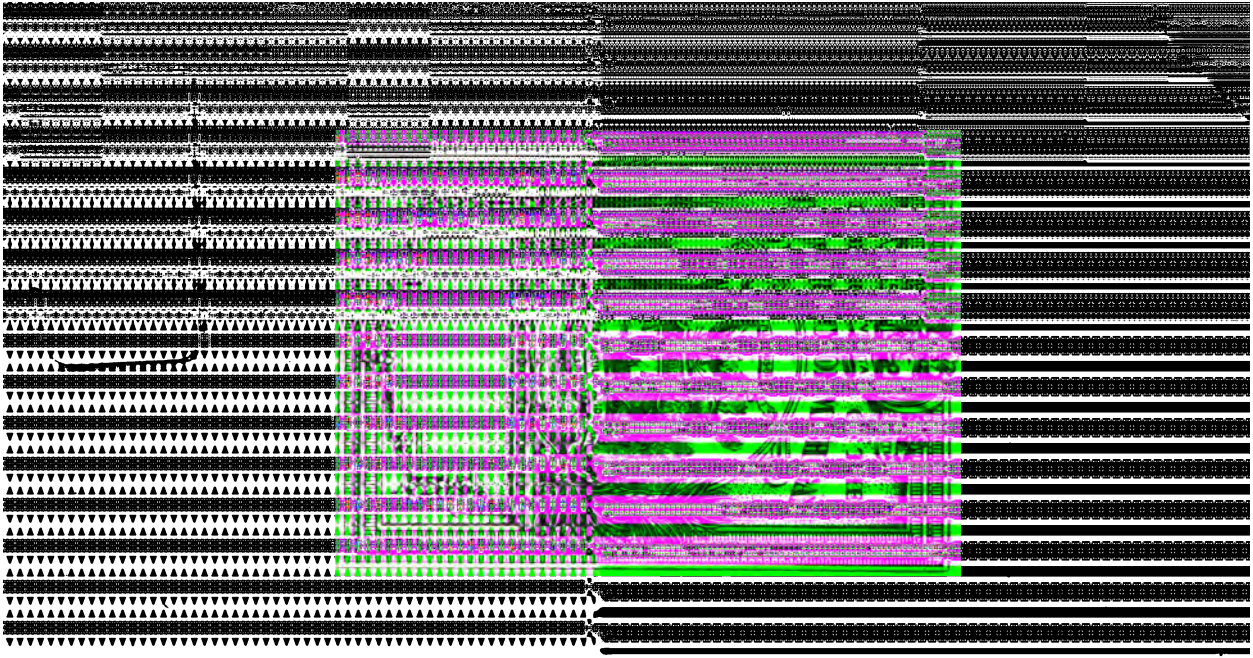

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CHRISTIAN ROME

GRANT ALLEN'S HISTORICAL GUIDES

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GRANT ALLEN'S HISTORICAL GUIDES

CHRISTIAN ROME

BY

J. W. AND A. M. CRUICKSHANK

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PREFACE

THE following pages have been compiled as far as possible on the lines laid down by the late Mr. Grant Allen for his series of historical guides. His plan was to concentrate attention on what is essential, important, and typical. No attempt has therefore been made to catalogue every church, or every work of art connected with Christian Rome. In making the necessary choice, errors both of inclusion and of exclusion are certain to appear. The compilers can only hope that readers will find no important omissions in the description of what is most significant.

The following standard books afford ample detail of the part which Christian Rome has had in the formation of modern society in Western Europe :—

Milman's *History of Latin Christianity ;* Renan's *Influence of Rome on Christianity ;* Hodgkin's *Italy and Her Invaders ;* Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire ;* Ranke's *History of the Popes of Rome during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries ;* Pastor's *History of the Popes,* translated by F. J. Antrobus ; Burckhardt's *Civilization of the Period of the Renaissance in Italy ;* J. A. Symonds's *Renaissance in Italy.*

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For information on artistic subjects the following books will be found useful :—

J. A. Symonds's *Life of Michael Angelo ;* Muntz's *Life of Raphael ;* W. J. Anderson's *Architecture of the*

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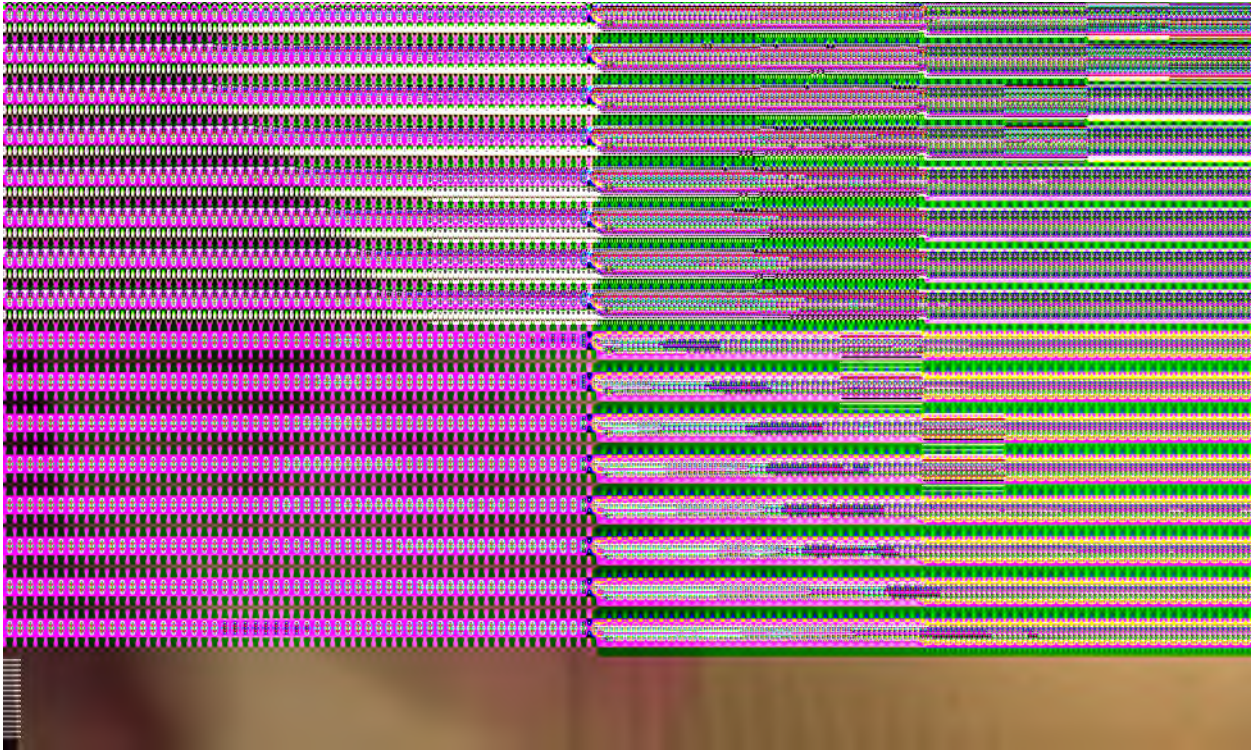

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Renaissance in Italy ; Monsignor Ehrle and Mr. Stevenson's *Gli Affreschi del Pinturicchio nell' Appartamento Borgia ;* Signor Ricci's *Pinturicchio*, translated by Miss Symonds.

Visitors will find a detailed history in Gregorovius' *History of Rome in the Middle Ages*, now available in an English translation. The results of the most recent investigations will be found in the works published by the Roman archæologists, De Rossi, Prof. Lanciani, and Prof. Marucchi. We are much indebted to these authors as well as to the writers of various guide-books, such as those of Nibby, Murray, Baedeker, and the hand-books of M. A. Tuker and Hope Malleson.

We should like also to express our thanks to Miss Katharine Wilson, who throughout the preparation of this guide has given invaluable assistance by suggestion and criticism.

J. W. C. AND A. M. C.

Hotel Minerva.

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HOW TO USE THESE GUIDE-BOOKS

THE portions of this book intended to be read at leisure **at home,** *before proceeding to explore each town or monument, are enclosed in brackets* [*thus*]. *The portion relating to each* **principal object** *should be quietly read and digested* **before** *a visit, and referred to again afterwards. The portion to be read* **on the spot** *is made as brief as possible, and is printed in large legible type, so as to be easily read in the dim light of churches, chapels, and galleries. The* **keynote words** *are printed in* **bold type,** *to catch the eye. Where objects are numbered, the numbers used are always those of the latest official catalogues.*

Baedeker's Guides are so printed that each principal portion can be detached entire from the volume. The traveller who uses Baedeker is advised to carry in his pocket one such portion, referring to the place he is then visiting, together with the plan of the town, while carrying this book in his hand. These guides do **not** *profess to supply practical information.*

See little at a time, and see it thoroughly. **Never** *attempt to "do" any place or any monument. By following strictly the order in which objects are noticed in this book, you will gain a conception of the* **historical evolution** *of the town which you cannot obtain if you go about looking at churches and palaces haphazard. The order is arranged, not quite chronologically, but on a definite* **plan,** *which greatly facilitates comprehension of the subject.*

TIME-TABLE

Agnese, S., Catacombs of, by tram from the Porta Pia	Daily	Small fee
Angelo, Castle of S. . .	Visitors taken round in parties	
Barberini. Picture Gallery. Piazza Barberini	Daily 10–5	1 lira
Borghese, Villa. Picture and Sculpture Gallery. Outside the Porta del Popolo	Daily 10–4	1 lira
Callixtus, Catacombs of S., on the Via Appia Antica	Daily	1 lira
Capitoline Museum, Piazza del Campidoglio	Daily 10–3	½ lira
Colonna Palace. Picture Gallery. 17 Via della Pilotta	Tues., Thurs. and Sat. 11–3	Free
Colosseum, The . . .	Daily 9 till sundown	½ lira
Conservatori, Palace of. Piazza del Campidoglio	Daily 10–3	½ lira
Corsini, Picture Gallery. Via della Lungara in the Trastevere . . .	Daily 10–4	1 lira
Domitilla, Catacombs of, beyond the Porta S. Sebastiano . . .	Daily	1 lira
Doria Pamphili Gallery. 1 Piazza del collegio Romano	Tues. & Fri. 10–2	Free, small fee
— — Villa and Park, beyond the Porta S. Pancrazio (numbered cabs not admitted)	Mon. & Fri.	12 to sundown
Farnesina Palace. 230 Via della Lungara in the Trastevere . . .	Mon., Wed., & Fri. 10–3	1 lira
Forum, The, including S. Maria Antica. Entry from Via delle Grazie . .	Daily 9 to sundown	1 lira
Kircher Museum. 27 Via Collegio Romano	Daily 9–3	1 lira
Lateran, Christian Museum (free on the first Saturday in the month) . .	Mon., Wed., & Fri. 10–3	1 lira
— Classical Museum. .	Tues., Thurs., & Sat. 10–3	1 lira

Madama, Villa	Sat.	Small fee
Mattei, Villa. On the Cœlian. Permit from 43 Via Ara Cœli	Wed.	Free
Palatine. Entry from the Via S. Teodoro	Daily 9 to sundown	1 lira
Peter's, St. Treasury. Dome	Daily. Inquire as to hours	
Rospigliosi Gallery. 43 Via del Quirinale	Wed. & Sat. 9–3	Free
Sebastiano, S., Catacombs of, Via Appia Antica	Daily	Small fee
Vatican, The. Entrance from the Piazza of St. Peter's		
— Chapel of Nicholas V	Tues. & Fri.	Free
— Loggia with the Bible of Raphael	Tues. & Fri.	Free
— Picture Gallery	Daily 10–3	Free
— Sistine Chapel	Daily 10–3	Free
— Stanze of Raphael	Daily 10–3	Free
— (entered by way of the Via dei Fondamenti)		
— Borgia Apartments	By permission of the Secretary of State at the Vatican	
— Christian Museum	Daily	Free
— Tapestries	Wed.	1 lira

The following are open free on Sundays :—

Capitol Museum	10–1
— Palace of Conservatori	10–1
Colosseum, The	10 to sunset
Corsini Gallery	10–3
Forum, The	10 to sunset
Kircher Museum	10–3
Palatine, The	10 to sunset

As museums and galleries are often shut on festivals and holidays, and as times of admission are frequently altered, it is best to take some trouble to make inquiries.

WHAT TO SEE FIRST IN ROME

Classical Rome. The visitor will probably desire to begin with the remains of the ancient city. The first days will be spent on the Palatine, in the Roman Forum, and in seeing the ruins of the Fora of the Emperors, the Colosseum, and the Baths of Titus and of Caracalla.

The sculpture which has survived from classical times will be found in the galleries of the Vatican and the Capitol, in the classical museum of the Lateran, and the museum in the Baths of Diocletian near the railway station.

Christian Rome. When the traveller turns to the Rome of Christian times, he will find the life of the Early Church illustrated by the Catacombs (of which those of S. Calixtus and Domitilla are the most representative and the most easily accessible) and in the Christian Museum of the Lateran. The history of the Bishopric of Rome is localized in the churches, chapels, baptisteries, and palaces of S. John Lateran, S. Peter's, and the Vatican. The religious life of the Romans, and of the endless stream of pilgrims which has been flowing towards Rome in all ages, is illustrated in the hundreds of churches which crowd the city. Of these the most interesting are the following :—

In the *Forum* and its neighbourhood : SS. Cosma e Damiano ; S. Francesca Romano ; and S. Maria Antica within the enclosure of the Forum.

On the *Capitol* and in its neighbourhood : S. Maria in Ara Cœli ; S. Marco ; and S. Pietro in Carcere.

On the *Aventine* and in its neighbourhood : Sta. Sabina ; and at the foot of the hill, S. Maria in Cosmedin.

On the *Cœlian* and in its neighbourhood: The Lateran; S. Croce in Gerusalemme, ten minutes to the eastward. To the westward: S. Clemente; SS. Quattro Coronati; S. Maria in Domnica; S. Stefano in Rotondo; SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

On the *Esquiline* and in its neighbourhood: S. Maria Maggiore; Sta. Prassede; Sta. Pudenziana; and S. Pietro in Vincoli.

In the *Campo Marzio* and its neighbourhood: the Pantheon (S. Maria ad Martyres); S. Maria Sopra Minerva; S. Maria del Popolo; S. Maria della Pace.

On the *Vatican hill:* St. Peter's.

In the *Trastevere:* S. Maria in Trastevere; and S. Cecilia.

On the *Janiculum:* S. Pietro in Montorio.

On the *Via di Porta Sebastiano* and near the Baths of Caracalla, SS. Nereo and Achilleo, and S. Sebastiano.

Outside the Walls: S. Paolo; the churches at Tre-Fontane; S. Lorenzo; S. Agnese; and S. Sebastiano.

The most important of the **Collections** which have been gathered together in Rome are those in the Palace of the Vatican. The Christian Museum of the Vatican, the tapestries worked from the designs of Raphael and his scholars, and the Borgia Apartments, which contain the frescoes by Pinturicchio and his assistants, are entered by way of the Via del Fondamenti, which runs outside the apse of S. Peter's. The Sistine Chapel, with the frescoes of Michael Angelo and other Florentine and Umbrian painters; the Chapel of Nicholas V, painted by Fra Angelico and his assistants; the Stanze, painted by Raphael and his assistants; the picture gallery of the Vatican; and the Loggia, with the "Bible of Raphael," etc., are entered from the Piazza of S. Peter's. The other principal collections of interest (apart from classical art) are those in the Villa Borghese and the Palazzo Corsini (both now public property), and the private collections in the Palazzo Doria Pamphili, the Palazzo Colonna, and the frescoes in the Villa Farnesina. There are also valuable collections in the Kircher Museum.

This list is far from exhausting all that will interest the visitor. It aims at enumerating only the most striking things that all will most want to see, no matter how short their stay in Rome may be.

Beside the churches, the galleries, and the museums, the **walls** and gates of the city, its fountains and **palaces,** and the great open spaces, such as the Piazza of S. Peter's, the Piazza of the Capitol, the Piazza Colonna, the Piazza Navona, the Campo del Fiori, and the Piazza del Popolo, have their interest for the traveller.

The gardens and park of the Villa Borghese, outside the Porta del Popolo, of the Villa Mattei on the Cœlian, and of the Villa Doria Pamphili outside the Porta S. Pancrazio, are not only beautiful in themselves, but from them may be obtained wide-stretching views of the Campagna which surrounds the city, and of the mountains which encircle it.

Short Half-day Excursions.

There are a number of short drives and excursions in the country near to Rome, and occupying not more than two to three hours, which will be found exceedingly interesting.

I. To the Villa Madama, designed by Raphael, and built by Giulio Romano for the Cardinal Giulio de Medici, afterwards Clement VII.

II. From the Porta Salaria to the Ponte Salario over the Anio, and beyond to the Villa Spada (5 miles from the city gate) and Castel Giubileo, the site of the ancient Etruscan town of Fidenae.

III. From the Porta Maggiore, about 2 miles from the gate on the Via Labicana, is the Mausoleum of the Empress Helena.

IV. From the Porta San Giovanni by the Via Appia Nova and the Via Latina, at a little more than 2 miles from the gate, there are the ancient tombs of the Valerii and the Pancratii ; and near by is the ancient Basilica of S. Stefano.

V. From the Porta San Sebastiano and by the Via Appia a number of interesting points are reached :

the catacombs of S. Callixtus and Domitilla, the churches of S. Sebastiano and S. Urbano alla Caffarella, the Tomb of Cecilia Metella, and the long line of other tombs on either side of the road.

Excursions for a Whole Day or More.

In addition to the short drives outside the city, there are a number of longer excursions, some of which most travellers wish to make.

I. Tivoli (about 25 miles by rail and 18 by tram) and Hadrian's Villa.

II. Palestrina (about 24 miles by rail).

III. Frascati (about 15 miles by rail), Tusculum, and Grotta Ferrata.

IV. Castel Gandolfo, Albano (14 miles by road and about 19 by rail), the Lake of Albano, and the Lake of Nemi.

V. Rocca di Papa (about 5 miles from Frascati) and Monte Cavo, 3,145 feet.

VI. Subiaco, by rail to Mandela, thence by a branch line to Subiaco.

VII. Veii, about 12 miles by road.

VIII. Civita Castellana (about 43 miles by rail on the way to Orte) and Mount Soracte, about seven hours there and back from Civita Castellana.

IX. Bracciano, about 28 miles, and Viterbo, 54 miles by rail from Rome.

X. Ostia, 15 miles by rail.

XI. Cervetri, visited from Palo, a station about 24 miles from Rome.

Drives about the City.

The traveller who is visiting Rome for the first time will find that to take a carriage "per ora" and make excursions such as the following is a simple way of gaining a certain necessary familiarity with the city as a whole.

I. Start from the Piazza del Gesù. Drive along the

Corso Vittorio Emanuele until the Palazzo Massimo (designed by Baldassare Peruzzi) is reached. Turn down the Via del Paradiso, opposite to this palace. In it is the Albergo del Sole, said to be the oldest inn in Rome. The street leads to the Campo di Fiori, the market-place of Rome. On Sunday morning there is a gathering of country people, and on Wednesday there is a market for everything, from archæological curiosities down to old clothes. In the centre is a statue to Giordano Bruno, who was burnt here in 1600. From the Campo di Fiori drive into the Piazza Farnese close by. The palace was founded in the first quarter of the sixteenth century for Cardinal Farnese, afterwards Paul III. It was designed by Antonio da San Gallo, and finished by Michael Angelo. It is now inhabited by the French Embassy and by the French school in Rome. Drive out of the Piazza by the Via di Monserrato. A few yards along the street is the church of S. Girolamo, the traditional site of the house of Paula, where S. Jerome lived for a time. Further along the same street is the Church of S. Maria di Monserrato, the Spanish church, where the Borgia Popes, Calixtus III (1455–8) and his nephew, Alexander VI (1492–1503), are buried; there are also a number of interesting tombs in the cloister attached to the church. Turn down the side of the church into the Via Giulia, originally planned in the time of Pope Julius II (1503–13), and familiar to all readers of Zola's *Rome*. This leads past the Church of the Florentines (S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini) to the bridges across the Tiber. Drive across the Ponte S. Angelo: on its balustrades are statues bearing symbols of the various acts in the Passion. Opposite is the castle of S. Angelo, originally the tomb of the Emperor Hadrian. It became the strongest fortress in Rome, and in the Middle Ages its possessor usually exercised temporal rule over the city. From the Castle of S. Angelo drive along the Borgo Nuovo: in it is the Church of S. Maria Traspontina. The columns to which SS. Peter and Paul were bound when they were beaten before their martyrdom are preserved within. A little further on

the street widens out into the Piazza Scossa Cavalli. One side is occupied by the palace originally built for the Cardinal Adrian of Corneto ; it is said to have been designed by Bramante and is now known as the Palace Giraud. In this little Piazza there is also the Church of S. Giacoma di Scossa Cavalli. At the end of the left aisle is preserved the stone, on which, according to tradition, Isaac was prepared for sacrifice. In the right aisle is the stone on which the Child was placed at the Presentation in the Temple. From the Piazza Scossa Cavalli, drive past the Hospital of S. Spirito, and up the Via S. Onofrio, to the church and convent of that name, associated with the last days of Tasso. From the Piazza there is a magnificent view over Rome. The position of the Pincian is marked by the towers of Trinita dei Monti. The position of the Seven Hills may be distinguished by the following landmarks: (1) The Viminal, the Palace of the Finances, and the railway station. (2) The Quirinal, the Royal Palace. (3) The Esquiline, the Campanile of S. Maria Maggiore. The tower of the Palace of the Senate stands between the twin heights of (4) the Capitol, (5) the Palatine, which may be recognized by the heavy foliage of its ilex trees. The great statues on the façade of S. John Lateran fix the top of (6) the Cœlian ; while the Church of Sta. Sabina and the new Benedictine Convent of S. Anselmo are on the ridge of (7) the Aventine. Behind the city the Campagna stretches away southwards to the Alban Hills and the mountainous Sabine country. After leaving the Piazza of S. Onofrio we pass Tasso's oak, and soon reach the top of the Janiculum, where there is an equestrian statue of Garibaldi. The road descends by the fountain of Paul V (erected by the architect Fontana), and opens on to the little Piazza in front of the Church of S. Pietro in Montorio. The view is perhaps the most famous in Rome, although it is no finer than that already described from S. Onofrio.

From this point direct the driver to go to S. Francesco a Ripa. In the convent attached to the church the room in which S. Francis lived when in Rome is pre-

served. The stone used for his pillow is shown. The altar, S. Francesco, S. Louis the Archbishop, S. Bernardino are represented; round about, fitted into cunningly devised cases, there are said to be eighteen thousand relics, including a spine from the Crown of Thorns. Next to the Portiuncula at Assisi, this is the first place dedicated in the name of S. Francis.

From S. Francesco a Ripa drive by way of the Via Anicia (the family name of S. Benedict) to S. Benedetto in Piscinula, built on the site of the house where the saint lived as a youth. From this point cross the bridges which connect with the island in the Tiber, passing S. Bartolommeo by the way. On the steps leading up to the altar of this church there is an ancient well-head, with interesting sculpture of the eleventh or twelfth century. From S. Bartolommeo return to the Piazza Venezia by way of the theatre of Marcellus and the Piazza Montanara.

II. An afternoon may be pleasantly spent in driving round the road which skirts the walls of Rome.

Start from the Piazza del Gesù, along the Via Ara Cœli, opened up in the time of Leo X (1513–22). Pass by the theatre of Marcellus and through the Piazza Montanara, and along the Via Bocca della Verita; the so-called house of Cola di Rienzo is on the right. On the left, a little off the main street, is S. Giorgio in Velabro, and just before reaching S. Maria in Cosmedin, we turn off along the Via dei Cerchi, with the Palatine rising to the left, and the site of the Circus Maximus to the right. This street leads into the Via di Porta Sebastiano. On the left are the ruins of the Porta Capena. A few yards further on a lane leads up to the Church of Sta. Balbina, from which there is a fine view over this part of Rome. We next reach the Baths of Caracalla, one of the most impressive of all the Imperial ruins. Close at hand are the Churches of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo (early mosaic) on the right, and S. Sisto on the left. Further to the right is S. Cesareo. The road which branches off to the left at this point leads to S. Giovanni in Porta Latina, and S. Giovanni in Oleo. Keeping to

the main road we pass by the Tomb of the Scipios and an ancient Columbarium, and reach the Porta Sebastiano, with its curious mixture of classical and mediæval structures. Pass out of the gate, turn sharply to the left, and follow the road which runs under the walls. The Porta Latina, now closed, is near at hand, and beyond it is another closed gate, the Porta Metronia. From this part of the road there are lovely views over the Campagna, and at each turn in the road there is some picturesque massing of the towers and gates, and of the churches within the city. At one point in particular the gardens of the Villa Mattei, the Church of S. Maria in Navicella, the Arch of Dolabella, and S. Stefano in Rotondo, form a striking group. Further on the closed Porta Asinaria is reached. It was by this gate that, during the Gothic wars, Belisarius entered the city in 536, while Vitiges fled by the Porta Flaminia, now the Porta del Popolo. Just ten years later the Gothic king Totila entered the city by the Porta Asinaria through the treachery of the Isaurian sentries.

Close to the Porta is the modern entrance of the Porta S. Giovanni, near to the Church of S. John Lateran. Continuing to follow the road without the walls we reach the bastions which formed part of the Amphitheatrum Castrense, probably intended for the soldiers in the camp which existed in this part of the city. Here also is the Church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, and near by we reach the Via Labicana as it issues from the Porta Maggiore. The arches of this gateway were used to carry the aqueducts. It is said that seven different waterways may still be distinguished. From the Porta Maggiore we may leave the line of the walls, and take a country road which leads in a few minutes to the Church of S. Lorenzo, without the walls, and the modern cemetery, which lie on one side of it. From S. Lorenzo a road leads directly to the Porta S. Lorenzo, from whence the tramway to Tivoli starts, and by which the city may be entered.

III. Another interesting drive may be taken by starting from the Piazza del Gesù or the Piazza Venezia,

and following any of the lines of streets that lead to Piazza Montanara. Out of this opens the Via Bocca della Verità. To the right, at a little distance from the main street, stands one of the most ancient remains of domestic architecture in Rome; it is known as the house of Cola di Rienzo, or the house of Pilate, or the house of Crescentius. The inscription says that it was built by Niccola, son of Crescenzio, and the date assigned is in the eleventh century, or the beginning of the twelfth. The relation with Cola di Rienzo probably arose from the ascription of the building to Niccola, son of Lorenzo, popularly shortened into the name of the famous tribune. The existing remains show that an attempt was made to build a magnificent palace, the effect of which is marred by the use of overloaded ornament. From this point drive to the Porta S. Paolo, passing under the new Benedictine Monastery of S. Anselmo on the top of the Aventine. Close to the gate is the Protestant Cemetery, which is divided into an old and a new part; the visitor enters the latter. It has been so closely planted with cypresses and eucalyptus that the graves seem to be roofed in by a deep shadow, which excludes even the brilliant light of an Italian sun, nor is the effect much relieved by the gay masses of flowers which line the narrow footpaths between the thickset ranks of tombstones. The most interesting names on the monuments, or on the graves, include those of Shelley, J. A. Symonds, Frederick Myers, and the sculptors, Story and Gibson. The custodian will open the gate of the old cemetery, which lies nearer to the Porta Paolo. It is here that Keats and Severn are buried, and an opening has been made in the wall so that the graves can be seen from outside. This part of the cemetery is much more picturesque than the trim garden. It is kept as a meadow, in which a few trees have grown up festooned with roses. The walls of Aurelian and the pyramid of Cestus form the background. The return route may be taken so as to include the Church of S. Saba and the road leading over the Aventine.

SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EXAMPLES OF EARLY MEDIÆVAL, GOTHIC, AND RENAISSANCE ART IN ROME

ROME does not yield a continuous record of her history. The architecture and sculpture of the centuries from the sixth to the end of the fourteenth has been almost entirely swept away. There is no great Romanesque church, such as S. Ambrogio in Milan, or S. Zeno in Verona; there are no transition buildings in which Romanesque and Northern ideals take shape in beautiful marbles, as at Lucca; there is nothing like the Cathedrals of Orvieto and Siena. It is hoped that the following summaries of the art of the various periods may help those who are visiting Rome for the first time, as well as the students of particular epochs.

Early Mediæval Period. Works of the early mediæval period include the following:—

The carved doors of Sta. Sabina. The choir-screens in S. Clemente, in Sta. Sabina (built into the wall), in Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, etc. Ancient frescoes will be found in the following churches: Sta. Maria Antica, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Martino ai Monti (in the substructures), S. Clemente (the lower church), S. Urbano alla Caffarella, SS. Quattro Coronati.

Many bell-towers throughout Rome are fine examples of the style of building in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Torre delle Milizie and the Torre dei Conti give some idea of the mediæval towers which played so large a part in the social life of the Middle Ages.

SS. Vincenzio and Anastasia, at the Fontane, is also the only example of a Romanesque church of any importance.

The school of Roman marble-masons produced a great variety of beautiful work throughout the Middle Ages. Four different families have been distinguished: (1) those of Paulus and his descendants; (2) Ranuncius and his family; (3) the succession of the Vassalectus family; and (4) the Cosmati. Among their work, note the Ciborium in S. Lorenzo, f.l.m.; the Paschal Candlestick at S. Paolo, f.l.m.; pulpits, altar-fronts, screens, and chairs, such as may be seen in S. Maria Ara Cœli, S. Cesareo, Sta. Balbina, and many other churches; and, most important of all, the cloisters of S. John Lateran, and S. Paolo, f.l.m.

The following is a list of the principal mosaics in Rome:—

Sta. Costanza.
Sta. Maria Maggiore: walls of the nave, and face of the triumphal arch.
Sta. Pudenziana, 390–400: restored in 772–95, and several times since.
Sta. Sabina, 424.
S. Paolo, f.l.m.: triumphal arch, 440–6.
S. John Lateran: chapel attached to baptistery, 461–7.
SS. Cosma e Damiano, 526–30.
S. Lorenzo, f.l.m.: 577–90.
Sta. Agnese, 626–38.
Oratory of S. Venantius (Lateran), 639–42.
S. Stefano Rotondo, 642–9.
S. Pietro in Vincolo (S. Sebastian), 680.
Sta. Costanza: niches over side-doors, uncertain date.
Sta. Maria in Cosmedin: a fragment from old S. Peter's, 705–8.
S. Teodoro, 772–95.
Triclinium, restored from an original of 795–816.
SS. Nereo e Achilleo, 795–816.
Sta. Maria Domnica, 817–24.

Sta. Prassede, 817–24.
Sta. Cecilia, 817–24.
S. Marco, 827–44.
Sta. Maria in Trastevere: semi-dome, 1130–43.
S. Francesco Romana, uncertain date.
S. Paolo, f.l.m.: semi-dome restored from an original of 1216–27.
S. Clemente, thirteenth century.
Sta. Maria Maggiore: semi-dome restored, 1288–94.
S. John Lateran: semi-dome lately replaced from an original of 1287–92.
S. Crisogono (?)
Sta. Maria Maggiore: loggia, fourteenth century.
Sta. Maria in Trastevere: below semi-dome, end of thirteenth century.
Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme, 1537.
S. Peter's: vestibule, the "Navicella," now entirely modernized.

Gothic Architecture and Sculpture.

The only architectural remains of Gothic building, on any considerable scale, exist in the Chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum, near S. John Lateran, and in the interior of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva. In S. Paola, f.l.m., in Sta. Cecilia, Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, and S. John Lateran, there are fine Gothic tabernacles over the high altars. Paschal candlesticks occur in Sta. Maria Trastevere, Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, Sta. Cecilia, and S. Clemente, etc. The principal Gothic tombs are those of Cardinal Ancherus (d. 1286) in Sta. Prassede, Stefano Surdi (1295) in Sta. Balbina, Bishop Durandus (1296) in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, Cardinal Roderigo Consalvi (1299) in Sta. Maria Maggiore, Cardinal Matteo Acquasparta (1302) in Sta. Maria in Ara Cœli. These five latter monuments are attributed to marble masons of the Cosmati family.

Besides these tombs there is a picturesque grouping of sculpture in the left aisle of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, marking the transition from the Gothic to the Renaissance style. It includes an altar and the tombs of the Cardinals Stefaneschi and of Philip d' Alençon. The

Stefaneschi tomb has been assigned to the sculptor Paolo Romano.

Renaissance Art in Rome.

The following is a list of the principal architects employed during the time of the Renaissance in Rome:—

Leo. B. Alberti (1405–72) and Rossellino (1409–64): employed by Nicholas V to plan and carry out the work for the new S. Peter's.

Meo del Caprino (1430–1501): employed on the Loggia of Benediction at the Vatican, and on the Palace of S. Marco.

Giacomo di Pietra Santa: employed on the Loggia of Benediction, the Palace of S. Marco, the reconstruction of S. Agostino for Cardinal d' Estoutville, and perhaps the Belvedere for Innocent VIII.

Fra Giocondo of Verona (1435–1515): employed on S. Peter's in the last years of his life.

Giovanni Dolci, working in Rome during the reign of Nicholas V and of Sixtus IV: employed on the fortress of Ostia, and probably on the Sistine Chapel.

Giuliano da Sangallo (1445–1516) is said to have come to Rome to study the antiquities in 1465. He became a favourite of Paul II, and in the last years of his life he was associated with Raphael and Fra Giocondo in the building of S. Peter's.

Bramante (1444–1514) came to Rome in 1499. His principal works were, the Tempietto at S. Pietro in Mon torio, the cloisters of Sta. Maria della Pace, the court of S. Damaso in the Vatican, and the new Church of S. Peter's. It is also possible that Bramante may have been concerned in the building of the Church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, which forms one corner of the Palazzo della Cancelleria.

Baccio Pontelli (1450–94) did not come to Rome until 1482; he was not therefore the architect of the Vatican Library, the Sistine Chapel, Sta. Maria della Pace, etc., all of which works have been attributed to him. He was employed as inspector of fortifications.

Michael Angelo (1475–1564) was commissioned in

1505 to execute the tomb of Pope Julius II. He planned the Piazza del Campidoglio and carried on the building of S. Peter's from 1546–64.

Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536) came to Rome in 1503. He was employed by Agostino Chigi to build the Villa Farnesina, and later he became the colleague of Antonio da Sangallo at S. Peter's. He designed the Palazzo Massimi alle Colonne in the Corso Vittorio Emanuele.

Raphael (1483–1520) designed the Church of S. Eligio degli Orefici, and the Palazzo Vidoni. On the death of Bramante he became the architect of S. Peter's. He was concerned in building the Chigi Chapel in Sta. Maria del Popolo, and the design of the Villa Madama is attributed to him.

Antonio da Sangallo (1485–1546) was architect of S. Peter's, and he designed the Palazzo Farnese.

No one can fail to be struck by the presence of undistinguished names in this list, and by the absence of many great Italian architects. Even when a man like Alberti was brought to Rome nothing effective was done. We must go to the Palazzo Rucellai in Florence, or to S. Francesco in Rimini, or to S. Andrea in Mantua, in order to estimate his genius. In the same way the talent of Giuliano da Sangallo was frittered away, and it is at the little town of Prato that we find his masterpiece, in the Church of Sta. Maria delle Carceri. Fra Giocondo came to Rome a year or two before his death, but it is only in Verona that we can understand his work as an architect. Baldassare Peruzzi was one of the most successful architects who worked in Rome, and one of the most distinguished Renaissance churches in Italy—Sta. Maria della Consolazione—is said to have been built with the help of his advice, but it was built in Todi, not in Rome. We must also remember that while Meo del Caprino, Giovanni di Dolci, and Giacomo da Pietrasanta were at work in Rome, Benedetto da Majano was building the Palazzo Strozzi in Florence, Pietro Lombardi was building Sta. Maria dei Miracoli in Venice, a generation of Lombard architects were

working on the Certosa of Pavia, Filarete was building the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan, and Laurana was at work on the Castle of Urbino.

It has been said that the architecture of the fifteenth century was the logical conclusion of a classical revival, which had been born of scholarly enthusiasm and educated by pedantry, and that "the struggle for perfection of form ended in formalism." In these sentences we have an explanation of the peculiarities of a large proportion of the architecture in Rome during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The insipid baldness of the Cancelleria, the dullness and heaviness of the Palazzo Giraud, the tedious monotony of the Palazzo Farnese, are amazing, when we remember the work that was being done in other parts of Italy.

Renaissance Sculpture. The following list is only intended to include characteristic or illustrative examples. The works are arranged under the names of the masters usually connected with them.

Donatello (1386–1466): small tabernacle in the sacristy of S. Peter's; a statue in wood in the sacristy of S. John Lateran; the Crivelli tomb in Ara Cœli.

Ghini (1407–91): the tomb of Martin V in S. John Lateran.

Filarete: the bronze doors of S. Peter's.

Isaiah of Pisa: the tomb of Eugenius IV in S. Salvatore in Lauro; the monument to S. Monica in S. Agostino.

Andrea Bregno (1421–1506): the Lebretto tomb in Sta. Maria in Ara Cœli; a relief in the sacristy of Sta. Maria del Popolo; the Rovarello tomb in S. Clemente; a relief above the tomb of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa in S. Pietro in Vincoli; the tomb of Cardinal Alanus in Sta. Prassede.

Mino da Fiesole (1431–84): the tabernacle in Sta. Maria in Trastevere; Madonna on the tomb of Cardinal Pietro Riario, in SS. Apostoli; the tomb of Francesco Tornabuoni in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva; a Madonna and Child on the tomb of Cristoforo della Rovere in

Sta. Maria del Popolo; a relief in the choir, and sculptures in the sacristy and in the chapter hall, at Sta. Maria Maggiore.

Mino and Bregno: the tomb of Cardinal Fortiguerra in Sta. Cecilia; the tomb of Cristoforo della Rovere in Sta. Maria del Popolo; the tomb of Cardinal Pietro Riario in SS. Apostoli.

Mino and Dalmata: the tabernacle in S. Marco; the Crucifixion in Sta. Balbina.

Bregno and Dalmata: the tomb of Cardinal Roverella in S. Clemente.

Antonio Pollajuolo (1429–98): the monument to Sixtus IV in S. Peter's; the monument to Innocent VIII in S. Peter's.

Michael Angelo (1475–1564): the Pietà in S. Peter's; the statue of Moses in S. Pietro in Vincoli; the figure of Christ in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva (?).

Andrea Sansovino (1460–1529): Madonna and Child in S. Agostino; the tombs of Cardinals Ascanio Sforza and Girolamo Basso in Sta. Maria del Popolo.

Jacopo Sansovino (1477–1570): Madonna and Child in S. Agostino.

Baldassare Peruzzi: the design of the tomb of Adrian VI in Sta. Maria del Anima, which was executed by Michael Angelo Sanese.

Lorenzetto (1490–1541): the "Jonah" and the "Elias" in the Chigi Chapel at Sta. Maria del Popolo. The former is said to have been designed by Raphael.

Baccio Bandinelli (1493–1560) designed the monument of Leo X and of Clement VII in the choir of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva. The figure of Leo X was executed by Raffaello da Montelupo (1505–70 ?), and that of Clement VII by Nanni di Baccio Bigio.

Simone Mosca (1496–1554): the sculptures on the Cesi Chapel in Sta. Maria della Pace.

Bartolommeo Ammanati (1511–92): the tomb of Cardinal Antonio Fabriano del Monte in S. Pietro in Montorio.

The following is a list of the most considerable works in **Fresco** dating from the peroid of the Renaissance which still exist in Rome:—

Fra Angelico (1387–1447): frescoes in the Chapel of Nicholas V in the Vatican.

Cosimo Roselli (1439–1507), Perugino (1446–1524), Botticelli (1446–1510), Dom. Ghirlandajo (1449–94), Pinturicchio (1454–1513), and Piero di Cosimo (1462–1521) painted the walls of the Sistine Chapel in 1482–3.

Pinturicchio directed the work of painting the Borgia Apartments; he also worked in Sta. Maria del Popolo and in Ara Cœli.

Filippino Lippi (1457–1504) painted the Caraffa Chapel in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva.

Timoteo Viti (1467–1523) painted the prophets in Sta. Maria della Pace.

Michael Angelo (1475–1564) painted the roof of the Sistine Chapel and the Last Judgment on the end wall.

Sodoma (1477–1549): a few frescoes by this painter still remain in the centre of the roof decoration of the Camera della Segnatura.

Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536): the ceiling painting in the Villa Farnesina.

Raphael (1483–1520) painted, designed, or superintended the following works: the Stanze of the Vatican; the Loggia of the Vatican; the prophet Isaiah, in S. Agostino; the Sibyls, in Sta. Maria della Pace; the triumph of Galatea and the story of Psyche, in the Villa Farnesina; the Cupola of the Chigi Chapel, in Sta. Maria del Popolo; the Entombment, in the Villa Borghese; the Transfiguration, in the gallery of the Vatican.

In most of these works Raphael was helped by some of the following assistants and disciples; members of this group also finished the works left by Raphael at his death.

Giovanni da Udine (1487–1564), Francesco Penni (1488–1528), Raffaello da Colle (1490–1540), Giulio Romano (1492–1546), Polidoro da Caravaggio (1495–1543), and Perino del Vaga (1499–1547). Sebastiano del Piombo (1485–1547) painted the "Polyphemus" and some of the mythological scenes in the hall of the Galatea at the Villa Farnesina.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IT is not from any wish to mark a distinction of epoch, but to keep the volumes of this guide within a suitable size, that the book has been divided into two parts, dealing with classical Rome and with Christian times.

Although the preaching of SS. Peter and Paul in the first century, and the promulgation of the Edict of Milan early in the fourth century, are of primary importance in the history of Christianity, they do not form landmarks in the history of Rome. The genius of Rome has not readily yielded to other institutions; it survived the Republic, it survived the Empire, it survived the Barbarian invaders. It has inspired the forms of Western life, from that of the city on the Palatine Hill to the Rome of the Curia and the Liberal Monarchy.

"Roma caput mundi regit orbis frena rotundi." Such is the legend that has marked the place of Rome in the minds of men for many centuries. If we ask what is the secret of the marvellous and mysterious power of her rule, the reply can only be in the most general terms. She has seldom sought the unattainable; she has seldom mistaken the shadow for the substance; the speculative has always been subordinated to the practical.

To the Roman, social life was a legal relationship, society was an organization for the preservation of order, spiritual energy was expressed by rites and ceremonies moulded with subtle perception of what was possible to ordinary human nature.

These qualities have made Rome the tribunal of the world. She has seldom asked too much of mankind,

and she has in return received the homage of average humanity.

Her jurists, her soldiers, and her ecclesiastics have governed. She has been content to borrow the services of Etruscans, Greeks, and Florentines to glorify her worldliness with the brilliance of their imagination.

The quality of Roman genius is evident on all hands in the city which we see about us to-day. She has enshrined her administration, her law-courts, her ecclesiastical system in buildings, which by their size and character are fit embodiments of the power, and majesty of the mistress of the world. It was the engineer rather than the artist that gave visible form to Roman ideals, and so strong was the tradition, that even when men of genius and of talent planned and carried out the building of S. Peter, the result was rather an official monument of a system than the artistic presentment of the joys and sorrows and hopes of humanity.

The word "eternal" naturally rises to the lips in connexion with Rome, and it rightly represents her hold upon the human intelligence. The Imperium of the ancient kings, of the Republic, of the Empire, of the Church, has been the most permanent force in building up modern civilization. It has taken many forms, it has had but one spirit; it has had many enemies, and it has triumphed over them all.

And yet the city in which this Imperium has had its seat is anything but eternal, for the Roman spirit has been practical and direct in its purpose: it has failed to see the use of preserving that which has already served its day. The needs of the moment have thrust aside the emotions raised by the ruins of a bygone splendour, so that the Rome of each generation has literally sprung out of the Rome of previous times. The Pantheon alone of all the great monuments is still a part of the living city, as it was eighteen centuries ago. The happy forgetfulness of hundreds of years has preserved for us many remains of the life of the early Christian Church, but the Rome of the Middle Ages, with the exception of some interior decorations, a few

cloisters, and many bell-towers, has almost entirely disappeared.

Apart from the ruins of classical times on the Palatine and in the Forum, and the ruins of imperial buildings, such as the Thermæ and the Colosseum, the Rome which is above ground to-day is mainly the work of the past five hundred years; for although many of the churches are of older date, very few of them have escaped a restoration so thorough and complete as to destroy their ancient character. The real monuments of the greatness and majesty of Rome are to be found in the principles of justice and equity, of law-abidingness, and of the civil administration on which modern society rests.

It was as the embodiment of the forces of civilization, that Dante saw in Rome an empire "ordained by Divine Providence," so that even "the stones that are fixed in her walls are worthy of reverence."

Although Rome has now become the political capital of a single state, her name still stirs throughout the Western world, the sense of a civilization common to all. She alone has the truly cosmopolitan tradition: within her walls all men may meet as members of the great Christian Republic.

Christianity and Paganism

The history of Christian Rome begins with a history of persecution. The believers in Rome had been gathered into a regularly constituted Church under the apostles, S. Peter and S. Paul, and of this Church S. Peter became the Bishop. The first persecution took place under the Emperor Nero, and it is memorable for the supposition that in it the two apostles suffered martyrdom. If, however, we accept the tradition of the second or third century that S. Peter ordained S. Clement, the death of S. Peter must be placed at a later date. The persecution under Nero and the following one under Domitian were not general; they have been attributed to personal causes. It was otherwise with the persecutions of the second century.

The Antonines vigorously supported the Roman ideal as expressed in Roman religion, and consequently Christianity suffered at their hands. It was in A.D. 163, under the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, that Justin Martyr is supposed to have suffered.

The three persecutions which were most severe and most general were those under Decius (249–51), Valerian (257–60), and Diocletian after the issue of his edict in 303. Decius seems to have been aiming at a purification of the ancient religion by the extermination of Christians. Valerian was, it is supposed, prompted by the calamities of the time, such as plague and foreign invasion. Diocletian's aim has never been satisfactorily explained; it has, however, been remarked that it was directed, in the first place, against soldiers who refused to assist in the sacrifices by which the gods were induced to grant success to the national arms. Galerius, who prompted the persecution, was one of those who issued the first decree of toleration in A.D. 311. Other decrees followed, in 312 and 313, in which Christianity was tolerated.

At the side of the Imperium of Augustus a constitution had everywhere grown up, founded, as it was said, by the Word of God; it was this new Imperium which was recognized by the edicts of toleration. Augustus was *pontifex maximus*, as well as the source of civil and military jurisdiction, and those who held the Christian Imperium were destined to claim an authority even larger and wider, so that every act and thought, every form of energy, was brought into submission. It is supposed that the rapid change of attitude in the statesmen of the fourth century was due to the conviction that Christianity offered a principle of unity and a common bond, permeating life in all directions, such as could alone revivify the system of the ancient world.

The spiritual Imperium expressed in this unifying principle naturally had its seat in Rome. Round the tomb of S. Peter there gathered the tradition of all that was most sacred and venerable in the post-apostolic age. The secular prescription in favour of Rome was

equally strong. No other city had exercised dominion over the civilized world, nor wielded such power over the imagination of mankind.

Rome was also the destined seat of the spiritual Imperium in virtue of the characteristic of her people. It is true that nearly all the great theologians were Orientals. It is also true that the great names in the West were, with the exception of Clement and Hippolytus, seldom those of Romans. Tertullian, Cyprian, and perhaps Lactantius were Africans; Irenæus and Justin Martyr were Orientals; of the Latin doctors Jerome was born near Aquileia, Augustine in Africa, Ambrose probably at Treves. It was, however, neither intellectual eminence nor theological sublety that controlled the world in the fourth and fifth centuries. It was by the genius for ruling, by the habit of stern discipline, by the capacity for organization, and by the power to bend the wills of men that the Roman Church was able to rule the Western world. Clement, Innocent I (402–17), Leo the Great (440–61), and Gregory the Great (590–604) were remarkable men, but they were the exceptions among the Roman bishops of the first seven centuries. Yet from the turmoil and destruction of the fall of the Empire in the West, and the succession of barbarian conquests, the Church emerged as the one great institution embodying the genius of Rome as powerfully as the Republic and the Empire at the height of their glory. The Roman Church expressed the vital principle of the new order which had arisen on the ruins of the ancient world. In the West, Christianity alone was able to energize mankind, the Empire could no longer draw into its service the enthusiasm or the genius of its subjects. The Roman bishop, as the head of the vital element in society, stepped naturally into the place of the Roman emperor.

The Papacy and Monasticism

Three times in the history of the Latin Church has the monastic temper been the mainstay of the papacy. In the sixth century it was the rule of Benedict, in the

thirteenth century it was the rise of mendicancy, in the sixteenth century it was the foundation of the Society of Jesus, that stiffened the hands of the Pope in times of danger.

In the sixth century the difficulty was to bring the Teutonic barbarians within the grasp of Roman discipline. The rule of S. Benedict (528 or 529) was characteristically imperial: in it the enthusiasm of faith and hope was codified, and the contemplative asceticism of the Thebaid was organized into a strict rule for living. Religious emotion and imaginative mysticism were directed by a "discipline" as vigorous as "that of the Roman legions." The abandonment of personal property, the disregard of family and social ties, the renunciation of the will, a life of silent labour exercised in the deepest humility, proclaimed an ideal that the barbarian was forced to acknowledge as something far grander and more powerful than anything he had ever reached. When the stern asceticism and the spiritual austerity of Benedict were united with the miraculous power of the saint, the barbarian was cowed, if not converted. The influence of the Benedictine rule was not confined to the Teutonic conquerors of the Empire, its influence was equally powerful among the Italian population and among the descendants of great Roman families. The two Popes who had the most influence in shaping the fortunes of the Latin Church, Gregory the Great and Gregory VII, were both trained in the Benedictine tradition.

The peril of the papacy was not so great in the thirteenth century as it had been in the sixth, nevertheless there was enough in the spirit of the time to disturb the peace of a great autocratic power that could brook no rival. The condition of society in the south of France, the activity of heretical sects in Italy, and the policy of the Hohenstauffen emperors, were sufficient to set in motion all the energies of the Church. The vision that Innocent III had of a poor man upholding the falling buildings of the Lateran only represented the pressing needs of the time, and never was Rome better

advised than when she absorbed the fiery zeal of Dominic and the genial self-abnegation of Francis. The two orders founded by these men were confirmed by Innocent III and Honorius III. The Franciscans have been connected with S. Francesco a Ripa and the Monastery of Ara Cœli. The Dominicans were first settled in Rome at S. Sisto, near the Baths of Caracalla, and later at Sta. Sabina and S. Maria sopra Minerva.

The third great effort of the monastic spirit sprang out of the reaction against the Hellenism of the fifteenth century. The Capuchin reform of Franciscanism, the rise of orders such as the Theatins and the Barnabites, the work of S. Theresa among the Carmelites, all show how in the sixteenth century the need of reform was felt almost as strongly in southern Europe as it was north of the Alps. The Society of Jesus was the most powerful agency in giving point and effect to this feeling: it was also one of the principal influences which shaped reform on Roman tradition. The followers of Loyola were most energetic and successful in stemming the tide of anti-papal feeling not only in Italy, but also in northern Europe. "They conquered the Germans on their own soil," and through good report and evil report their conquest has been permanent. Ignatius Loyola and his companions bound themselves by vows to each other in Paris in 1534. In 1540 and 1543 bulls were granted, confirming the order, and in 1541 Loyola was chosen as its first head. He lived in the house, 1 Via Ara Cœli, and close to it was built the church known as "Il Gesù," typical in its style and decoration alike of the methods of the Society and of the taste of the sixteenth century.

The Mediæval Senate

Rome did not take a leading place in the mediæval life which foreshadowed that of the modern nation. The idea of the Italian state developed slowly as the power of ancient civilization asserted itself in the minds of the barbarian conquerors who had settled in the peninsula. In accordance with classical models the munici-

pality became the unit of the new life. The spiritual power of the Church was readily admitted, and the secular rule of the Emperor was, in theory at least, unquestioned. When, for instance, the Lombard towns rose against Barbarossa in the twelfth century, they acknowledged his authority ; the quarrel turned upon its limits.

In Rome the growth of the burgher class was less rapid than in the northern towns, where commerce led to wealth and power. The national impulse was, however, strong enough to overcome the influence both of the Pope and the nobles, and from 1143 to 1398 the secular government of the city was more or less in the hands of a somewhat shadowy senate, with a senator at its head. As an instrument of government it bore no comparison to municipal republics like those of Florence and Venice, and indeed it owes such interest as it has to the personalities of men like Arnold of Brescia, Brancaleone, and Cola di Rienzo.

The Papacy and the Temporal Power

The relations of the papacy with the temporal power for many centuries were favourable to the growth of its authority. The foundation of Constantinople withdrew the direct imperial influence from the city of Rome, henceforth leaving the bishop the most important person in the community. By their action during the invasions of Alaric and Attila, Innocent I and Leo I added immensely to the prestige of their office. The wars of the sixth century, which devastated Italy and destroyed the fabric of ancient life, left the papacy comparatively free from the pressure of the secular power. The Gothic wars (535–53), in which the Byzantine generals Belisarius and Narses destroyed the kingdom ruled by the successors of Theodoric, might have led to interference on the part of the Emperor in Constantinople. This, however, was effectually prevented by the Lombard conquest, which began in 568. The final result of the barbarian invasion was that a narrow strip of central Italy, including the city of Rome, was left to the Byzantine Empire, while the larger part

of the country was ruled by the Lombards. Neither of these secular powers being strong enough to oust the other, the Pope was left in comparative freedom.

During the seventh century the common danger to Byzantine, Lombard, and Pope was the advance of the Moslem power. Fortunately for Italy and the Pope, this was checked in the East by the defeat of the Caliph before Constantinople in 678 and 717, and in the West by the victory of the Frankish power, under Charles Martel, at the battle of Poitiers, in 732.

In the early part of the eighth century the iconoclastic controversy turned the energy of the Byzantine Empire towards its own internal affairs, and it also caused a definite breach between the East and West.

The Italians were aroused, and they threw off the rule of the Exarch sent from Constantinople. At the same time the Lombards were slowly drawing closer and closer to Rome, and the only power able and willing to help the Pope was that of the Frankish kings. It so happened that the Merovingian dynasty was deposed by the family of the Mayors of the Palace, at the time when the Pope was most severely pressed. The new Frankish king, Pipin, was anxious to legalize his position: the Pope was anxious to throw off the yoke of the iconoclastic Byzantines, and to be saved from the Lombards. Pipin was elected Patrician, his son Charles succeeded him, and in 774 the kingdom of the Lombards in northern Italy was destroyed. A long course of events had proved that the papacy required the support of an organized secular power, and in the year A.D. 800 Leo III officially recognized this by crowning the Frankish king as Emperor in the West. Thus at the end of the eighth century the Pope had freed himself from the Byzantine yoke, he had seen his Lombard enemies vanquished, and instead of owning allegiance to a Byzantine overlord, he appeared before the world as the source of the newly revived imperial power in the West. The connexion of the papacy with the Franks had other material advantages. The Pope had large claims over Central Italy as its temporal sovereign. This rested on

a donation, said to have been made by the Emperor Constantine. During the eighth century a document appeared which gave definite form to these pretensions, and although its authority has been questioned, there is no doubt that Pipin and Charles did convey certain rights over territories in Central Italy to the Pope, and as a matter of practical politics, apart from theoretical claims, the beginnings of the temporal power may be dated from this time. From the death of Charles the Great, in 814, the magnificent edifice of the Karling Empire began to crumble to pieces, and although it was revived in its more distinctively Teutonic aspect by Otto the Great in 961, the evils of the time were too serious to be cured by the efforts of a single great man. The papacy fell under the control of the Roman nobility, and passed through its period of deepest degradation from the death of John VIII in 882 till the consecration of Clement II in 1046, a Pope who owed his election to the Emperor Henry III. The ecclesiastical reforms of the eleventh century, begun under the influence of the Teutonic Emperor, were carried out by the fiery zeal of the Benedictine monk, Hildebrand. This extraordinary man was the son of a carpenter in the Tuscan town of Soana. He received his first training in the monastery on the Aventine, where S. Maria in Priorata now stands, and for some years he lived in the monastery of Cluny, near Maçon. In 1048 he came to Rome with Leo IX, and during five papacies he was the guiding spirit of the Church. In 1073 he was elected Pope, alike by the choice of the Cardinals and by the acclamation of the people. His policy was to separate the ecclesiastical caste from secular life.

Within twelve months of his election, Hildebrand, who had taken the name of Gregory VII, issued a decree against simony and the marriage of the clergy. A year later, in 1075, another decree forbade ecclesiastics to receive the investiture of a benefice from a layman, and this was accepted as a declaration of war by the emperor-elect, Henry IV. The Pope excommunicated Henry, declaring that if within a year he was not absolved he

would forfeit his throne. Revolt in Germany, and the implacable temper of the Pope, left Henry no alternative, and after three days waiting in the courtyard of the castle at Canossa, he was admitted to the presence of the Pope in January, 1077. The strife, however, continued as bitterly as before. A competitor for the German throne appeared on one hand, and on the other a number of German and Lombard bishops decreed the deposition of Gregory, and elected an Antipope. The death of the claimant to the German throne enabled Henry to carry the war into Italy, and at last, after several attempts, he took Rome in 1083. Gregory found shelter in the castle of St. Angelo, and called the Normans to his assistance. In May, 1084, Robert Guiscard forced his way into the city, caused Henry to fly precipitately, released the Pope, and as a consequence of a rising among the Roman people a large part of the city was burned. Gregory, not daring to face the Romans, withdrew along with the Normans; and, little more than a year later, he died at Salerno. The question of lay investiture was not settled till 1122, when Henry V and Callixtus II, by the Treaty of Worms, came to an agreement which was substantially a victory for the papacy.

The re-establishment of the Empire in the West, side by side with the papacy, led to many centuries of contest. Each power was necessary to the other, each was ready to acknowledge the other, but neither was willing to take the second place. The circumstances of the quarrel and its fortunes were determined by the temper of the times, and by the relative capacity of the Emperor and the Pope; but the essential matter in dispute was always the same. In the latter part of the twelfth century, Alexander III and the Lombard towns overcame Barbarossa. In the first half of the thirteenth century Gregory IX and Innocent IV, with the aid of some of the towns, broke the power of Frederick II, and in the latter part of the thirteenth century the popes brought the Angevins into Italy to complete the overthrow of the Hohenstauffens. This proved to be the undoing

of the papacy ; it ended in the establishment of French interest in Italy, and in a contest with the French king. The quarrel came to a head in the time of Boniface VIII. The Pope was deficient in the diplomatic temper which has generally characterized the successors of St. Peter, and the result of his policy was the so-called Babylonish captivity at Avignon, ending in the schism which was not closed until 1439.

The struggle broke out again in the next century, when the Popes, Julius II, Leo X, and Clement VII were opposed to the French king or the Hapsburg emperor as the policy of the moment dictated. The sack of Rome in 1527, and the peace between Clement VII and Charles V at Bologna in 1530, brought this contest to an end. The Pope's position as an Italian prince was secured, and the rest of the peninsula was abandoned to the influence of Spain.

After more than two hundred and fifty years the temporal and spiritual powers in the persons of the Emperor Napoleon and the Popes, Pius VI and Pius VII, once more brought the old quarrel to the arbitrament of force. The Pope was carried to Paris, and was obliged to submit to the will of the Emperor.

The last phase of the dispute has taken a different form within the past half-century ; for the first time the interest of the Italians as a nation has come to be of paramount importance. The French protectorate, which has maintained the secular power of the Pope (in spite of national aspirations), ceased, as a consequence of the war of 1870, and in that year Rome became the capital of the kingdom of Italy.]

I

GENERAL NOTE ON THE CATACOMBS

THE Christians of the first four centuries buried their dead in underground cemeteries, now known as catacombs. They were recognized by the Roman authorities as places of public burial, and it was only in times of persecution that they were used as places for worship. During the fifth century it became the custom to bury the dead near the churches, and the catacombs, henceforth only rarely used as cemeteries, were venerated as the holy shrines of the martyrs, and were visited by pilgrims from all parts of Christendom.

During the wars of the Goths in the sixth century, and of the Lombards in the eighth, the barbarian Christians pillaged and ravaged the catacombs in search of holy relics, and to put a stop to such thefts the Popes made a wholesale transference of the remains into the city. An inscription in the Church of Sta. Prassede states that the bones of over two thousand of "those whose names are written in the book of life" were brought by Pope Pascal I into the church.

After the ninth century the catacombs were neglected, and the entrances became filled up and forgotten. With the exception of explorations made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, "subterranean Rome" remained buried until the brothers De Rossi began their scientific excavations in the nineteenth century.

The chief interest of the catacombs lies in the fresco pictures with which the chambers and passages are decorated.

Here are to be found the beginnings of Christian painting, and as the decoration of the martyrs' shrines con-

tinued long after the disuse of the catacombs as burial-places, it is also possible to trace the evolutions of Christian art from the second to the eighth centuries.

Considered as works of art, the pictures are not of great importance, but they seldom fail to make their appeal as the sincere and spontaneous expressions of a living faith. A new religion began to give expression to its beliefs in pictorial form. The language used was almost entirely symbolical, and the painters freely employed the methods of painting used by the pagans, as well as many of the classical designs and figures. During the second and third centuries, Paradise is figured as a garden, where cupids gather fruit and flowers. The soul appears as a fish, a dove, a sheep, and as Psyche. Christ is figured as the Good Shepherd and as Orpheus. The paintings show a feeling for design and for pure colour, and effects are gained with little labour.

In the fourth century symbolism becomes more formal. Much attention is given to the correspondence between the Old and New Testaments; the subjects are illustrated mystically, not historically. Christ no longer appears on a level with the other figures: He is enthroned and has a nimbus. The small, delicate forms of the earlier centuries give place to large images, clumsily proportioned and coarsely coloured. The mediæval pictures added for the adornment of the shrines consist chiefly of images of saints and martyrs.

It may be said in general of Christian art of the first four centuries that the principal theme is the resurrection. There are no representations of the Crucifixion nor of the sufferings of the martyrs.

(Reproductions of paintings from the Catacombs are to be seen in a room off the gallery of the Christian Museum of the Lateran.)

List of the Principal Catacombs.

There are said to be forty-eight cemeteries in the Campagna, which surrounds Rome, but of these only four are open to the public: S. Callixtus, Domitilla, S. Agnes, and S. Sebastian. The following are open

occasionally, as a rule on the day of the feast of the martyr after whom the cemetery is named: SS. Pietro e Marcellino, on the Via Labicana (from the Porta Maggiore); S. Priscilla, on the Via Salaria; S. Pontianus, on the Via di Porta Portese; Praetextatus, on the Via Appia.

[A sympathetic account of the paintings in the Catacombs will be found in the first volume of Lord Lindsay's *Christian Art.* A description of the principal cemeteries and a list of the subjects and symbols is given in the *Handbook to the Christian Monuments of Rome*, by Tuker and Malleson. While the views of the Roman archæologists and a record of recent excavations may be obtained from Professor Marucchi's *Le Catacombe romane.*]

THE CATACOMBS OF S. CALLIXTUS

[The rediscovery of these catacombs in modern times was the work of Com. G. B. di Rossi, in 1854. His conjecture that here must be the site of the famous Papal Crypt, mentioned by the itineraries of the seventh and eighth centuries, was confirmed by the discovery in a vineyard of a fragment of stone with the name of Bishop Cornelius, martyred in the third century. Excavations were made, and a large cemetery discovered, dating from the second to the end of the fourth century. This cemetery, it is believed, had its origin in the crypt of a private individual, known as Lucina, who has been identified by Di Rossi with the wife of Aulus Plautius, the conqueror of Britain, A.D. 43–7. Tacitus mentions that Lucina became a Christian, "leading henceforward," he says, "a mournful and lugubrious life." Close to this crypt there appears to have been a small hypogeum belonging to the Christian members of the "gens Cecilii." During the course of the third century these two crypts formed the nucleus of a large cemetery, which came to be recognized as the official burying place of the Popes, and was placed under the administration of a deacon,

Callistus (afterwards Pope (219–23), whose name it bears.] Entering by a doorway from the Via Appia, we pass the ruins of a small building, standing immediately above the crypt of S. Cecilia, and called by the name of that saint.

The entrance to the catacomb is by a staircase built by Pope Damasus (366–84), who did much to restore and preserve the early sepulchres at a time when the custom of subterranean burial was falling into disuse.

On the walls of the staircase and the vestibule are invocations of the saints, and personal names scratched by the pilgrims who came to visit the burial-place of the martyrs.

The first chamber visited, called the **Orpheus Cubiculum,** has a painting of the second century; it is the earliest example in this catacomb that is shown to visitors. The fresco is on the roof, and represents Orpheus surrounded by animals, a symbol of Christ drawing all people to Him by the sweetness of His gospel.

We next reach the famous **Papal Crypt,** a bare chamber lined with masonry (rebuilt in 1854), and lit by an opening in the roof. Opposite to the entrance is a raised platform with the fragments of four short pillars, formerly the supports of the marble table which formed the altar. On the wall behind is the inscription composed by Pope Damasus, commemorating the crowd of holy ones "whose bodies are enclosed in the sepulchres while the royal house of heaven has taken to itself their noble souls." (Corpora sanctorum retinent veneranda sepulchra, Sublimes animas rapuit sibi regia cæli.) S. Zephyrinus (202–19) was the first pope buried here, and in the course of the third century eleven other bishops were interred in the same place.

The Crypt of S. Cecilia is entered by a narrow passage leading from the papal crypt. It is an irregularly shaped chamber, once lined with marble and covered with frescoes. All that remains of these paintings now are three fragments close to the entrance. S.

Cecilia is represented as a young woman richly dressed in barbarous fashion; the painting is probably by an artist of the seventh century. In the niche below is a large head of Christ in Byzantine style. At the side is a full-length figure of S. Urban in pontifical robes. Both paintings are supposed to date from the tenth or eleventh centuries. (For the legend of S. Cecilia and S. Urbanus, see the Church of S. Urbano Alla Caffarella.) The sarcophagus containing the body of S. Cecilia was discovered in the ninth century, and was removed to the church dedicated in the name of the saint in the Trastevere. In the arcosolium where the sarcophagus was found there is now a replica of the statue by Maderna, who reproduced the attitude of the body as he saw it when the tomb was opened in 1599.

The visitor now passes along a narrow and high corridor out of which open a series of five small chambers, known as the **Chapels of the Sacraments.** The paintings may be dated about the middle of the third century.

Room No. I. On the roof, the Good Shepherd, with peacocks in the ornamental border. *Wall opposite* to the door: a table with loaves and fishes; above, a ship in a storm; below, a man baptizing a youth. *Left wall:* Moses strikes the rock; a fisherman; a supper with seven persons. *Right wall:* the story of Jonah; the raising of Lazarus. *Wall of entrance:* a dolphin twisted round a trident.

Room No. II. Roof: the Good Shepherd, with peacocks and winged genii in the border. *Opposite* to the door: Jonah cast from the ship; below, a fisherman; a man baptizing; the paralytic carrying his bed. *Right:* Jonah under the gourd; below, a tripod with bread and fish, beside it a man and woman in prayer; a supper with seven persons; the sacrifice of Isaac. *Wall of entrance:* The woman of Samaria; Moses strikes the rock. The three other chambers are of later date.

Room No. III. A highly ornamented vault, with the Good Shepherd in the centre and the story of Jonah. Walls defaced.

Room No. IV. A supper with seven persons and eight baskets of bread. *Right:* Jonah under the gourd.

Room No. V. *Left wall:* The story of Jonah. *Right wall:* Supper with seven people and twelve baskets of bread. *On the wall of entrance:* The raising of Lazarus; Moses strikes the rock.

Many suggestions have been made for the significance to be drawn from this imaginative symbolism. The element of water in baptism, and of bread in the supper unites by a chain of biblical allegories and poetic images the main ideas of Christian dogma. Water flows from the rock struck by Moses. It is poured upon the head of the neophyte when he is regenerated and healed, and like the paralytic can arise and walk. This water, also, is drawn from the well by the woman of Samaria who hears the promise of the gift of living water. From water the fishers of men draw out the faithful believers. The ship of the Church, tossed upon the bitter waters of this world, reaches in safety the port of salvation. And, lastly, the divine fish is drawn from the water and laid upon a dish, having become the nourishment for souls.

Similarly the bread of life is used as a bond uniting together the holy meals of the faithful, the miraculous multiplication of food for thousands, the sacramental meal of Christ, and his disciples, and the gage for all believers of the promise of everlasting life. The symbols of Paradise and of immortality invariably represented on the roof, indicate the goal towards which this eucharistic symbolism naturally leads.

As a rule, the two crypts and the five chapels described above are all that is shown of the catacomb, but the custodians generally take visitors to see other pictures if asked to do so.

In the **Crypt of Lucina,** the oldest part of the cemetery, are two chambers dating from the second century. In the *first* there are traces of a scene of baptism, and several figures of doves and trees.

In the *second* there is a richly decorated roof with the Good Shepherd in the centre surrounded by eight

heads personifying the seasons; in an outer ring are shepherds, women in prayer, and winged genii. Di Rossi thinks the classical style of these figures is rather Greek than Roman. On the walls are some highly symbolical designs. The believer is figured as a sheep feeding from a pot of milk; and the soul in Paradise appears as a dove resting on a tree. On the wall opposite to the entrance the Ichthys is figured carrying a basket with wine and bread on its back.

These frescoes are good examples of the characteristics of the first period of Christian painting.

The burial-place of the martyred **Pope Cornelius** is decorated with the portraits of four saints—SS. Cyprian, Cornelius, Sixtus II, and Optatus. The large aureoles, the gemmed books, and the elaborately ornamented vestments are in the style of the ninth century, at which time this sepulchre was restored by Pope Leo III, 795–816.

In the crypt named after **S. Soteris** there are two rooms with pictures dating from the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries. The passages are higher and wider here than in the other crypts. There are more openings for light and much larger rooms, which were probably intended for the holding of commemorative services. A square room, called the "Camera delle cinque santi," has a picture of Paradise with five saints, probably dating from the third century. Five figures, richly dressed in gold and purple, stand in the garden of Paradise with their arms outstretched in prayer. Their names are inscribed—Dionysias, Zoæ, Eliodora, Nemesius, Procopius, with the words "in pace" added to each. Two peacocks, also, are walking in the garden, and under one of them are the words "Arcadia in pace."

Another interesting fresco, unfortunately much destroyed, represents the Good Shepherd with His flock gathered round Him. At either side are young men who rush forward to catch the streams of water which pour down from a rock.

THE CATACOMB OF DOMITILLA OR OF SS. NEREO ED ACHILLEO

[This interesting cemetery on the Via Delle Sette Chiese may be reached either from the Appian Way by the Via Ardeatina, or from the Church of S. Paul's-outside-the-Walls.

The features of special interest are the ancient basilica of S. Petronilla, dating from the fourth century, excavated in 1873, and the hypogeum of the Flavian family, which opens to the outer air, and must have been constructed in a time of peace, probably during the second century. Besides this there are a number of interesting paintings of the third and fourth centuries, which are better preserved and less blackened with smoke than the pictures in the catacomb of Callixtus.

Flavia Domitilla, a grand niece of the Emperor Vespasian, appears to have been the original donor of a piece of ground as a cemetery for the Christian Church, close to the place of sepulchre of the Flavian family.

She and her mother, Plautilla, according to the Acts of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, received baptism from S. Peter; and Domitilla was soon after exiled to the island of Pontia. Two of her servants—Nereus and Achilleus—who had followed her into exile, suffered martyrdom at Terracina, and their bodies were brought back to Rome, and buried in the Flavian cemetery.]

Entrance to the catacomb is through a modern building erected by the Commissione di Archeologia Sacra. From this room we pass directly into the basilica of the fourth century, **S. Petronilla.** The tradition was for long maintained that Petronilla was the daughter of S. Peter. The probability is, however, that she was a member of the Flavian family, and that her name is a derivative from the Roman Petronius, and not from that of the apostle.

This basilica, built between 390 and 395, is like S. Clemente in plan. The bases of the columns dividing

the narthex, and some of the pillars between the nave and the aisles, are still standing. A niche in the apse for the episcopal chair will be noticed, and portions of the screen which separated the choir from the rest of the church are in position.

It was in this building that S. Gregory (590–604) delivered a homily while the Longobards were devastating the surrounding country and the city was wasted by plague and famine.

During the seventh century we hear of messengers sent to this catacomb by the Lombard Queen Theodolinda, for holy oil from the sepulchres of Petronilla, and of the martyrs Nereus and Achilleus. The vessel containing this oil is to-day preserved in the Treasury of Monza.

The basilica stands in the heart of the cemetery. Galleries and passages extend below and around. In the centre of the nave some sarcophagi in their original position in the underground vaults may be seen partially uncovered. On the wall of the vestibule are a number of inscriptions, the most interesting being a fragment of the title placed over the entrance to the Flavian sepulchre—SEPULCHRUM FLAVIORUM, with the drawing of an anchor below the words.

In the centre of the wall is a eulogy of the martyrs Nereus and Achilleus, in the beautiful writing of Philocalus, an engraver of the fourth century, who was employed by Pope Damasus.

Passing to the apse we find two interesting columns, much broken, with reliefs representing the decapitation of SS. Nereus and Achilleus. Scenes of martyrdom are almost unknown in the paintings or sculptures of the first four centuries, and it is to be noticed that above the heads of the martyrs, whose arms are bound to a cruciform stake, is a laurel crown of victory.

The sarcophagus containing the body of S. Petronilla probably stood in the niche of the apse on the right hand. It was transferred to the crypt of the Vatican for safety by Pope Paul I in 755, during the invasion of the Lombard King Aistulph.

The entrance to the catacomb is by a passage close to the apse opening out of the right aisle; it leads directly into a cubiculum with an interesting fresco. Veneranda, a matron wearing a veil over her head, stands in the attitude of prayer; behind her is a younger woman with dark hair coiled on the top of her head, and with a vivacious expression. The words "PETRONELLA MART." are inscribed beside the saint, who is apparently welcoming Veneranda into Paradise. At her feet is a large round box with rolls of paper, and behind is an open book. The painting probably dates from the end of the fourth century.

A short distance through passages with no features of importance brings us to a spacious corridor. This is the burial-place of the Flavian family, which originally consisted of one or two rooms on either side of the stately entrance.

The paintings are considered to be among the best examples of decoration in the classical style to be found in the Christian cemeteries; they date, probably, from the first half of the second century, that is before 150. The spaces are divided by geometrical lines and filled with graceful winged figures, delicately designed scrolls and leafage, and small pastoral scenes. On the roof is a great vine springing from a single root, drawn with freedom and grace in a naturalistic manner. On the walls of the corridor are some much destroyed frescoes representing Noah in the ark, and Daniel between lions. Mounting the steps we reach the open air and look back at the massive doorway with the ruins of low arched buildings on either side.

Two chambers lead from the entrance. The one on the right, with a bench running round the wall, was probably used as a triclinium for the funeral feasts. The one on the left, containing a well, and a number of large earthern vessels, may have been used for the preparation of the banquets. From the banqueting chamber we enter a small room, decorated with fine stucco designs and some pretty little pictures. Psyche, a childish figure in a green frock and with butterfly

wings, gathers flowers, while Amor, a winged boy, pours fruit into a basket.

Among the paintings which are to be seen in other parts of the cemetery the following should be noticed: the Magi bringing their gifts (one of the earliest representations dating from the end of the second century); a crypt painted with scenes of buying and selling grain; Adam and Eve covering themselves with leaves; representations of the Good Shepherd, in the rough heavy style of the fourth century. A crypt decorated in Pompeian style has the name "Ampliati" above a loculus. This may be, it is supposed, some relation of the Amplius to whom S. Paul sends greeting in writing to the Romans (xvi. 8).

The great staircase between the upper and lower floors has a painting of Orpheus, on the wall. Not far from here is the place where Pope Damasus was buried beside his mother and his sister Irene.

Close to the exit, in the corridor, we may notice a charming relief of the Good Shepherd, with the inscription "Geronti vibas in Deo."

THE CHURCH AND CATACOMB OF S. SEBASTIAN

S. Sebastiano was one of the seven churches in Rome which were held in reverence and visited by pilgrims from all parts of Europe throughout the Middle Ages.

These seven churches were distinguished by the possession of relics of peculiar sanctity. In S. Peter's are to be found the body of S. Peter, part of the true cross, the lance, and the Veronica.

In S. Paul's is the body of the apostle.

S. John Lateran has the heads of SS. Peter and Paul and the table used at the Last Supper.

In S. Maria Maggiore are the boards of the manger.

S. Lorenzo has the bodies of Laurence and Stephen.

In S. Croce in Gerusalemme is the title board and part of the true cross.

In S. Sebastiano are preserved the footprints of Christ, and the body of the holy martyr.

The church is said to have been built in the fourth century by Constantine, upon the foundations of an ancient Pagan building ; but it was entirely remodelled by Cardinal Borghese in the seventeenth century, and all that is now visible is the structure of that period.

Originally it was known as the Basilica of SS. Peter and Paul, because the bodies of the apostles were hidden in a crypt on this site, during the persecutions of Valerian in 257.

When or under what circumstances it came to be dedicated in the name of S. Sebastian is uncertain.

Sebastian, according to tradition, was an officer in the Roman army, commander of the first cohort, under Diocletian. He came in contact with the Christians who were being punished for refusing to sacrifice, and secretly exhorted them to constancy. For this he was brought before the authorities and condemned to be bound to a stake and shot with arrows. This torture was not carried to the point of death, and having been nursed and restored by a Christian woman named Irene, Sebastian on his recovery placed himself in the way of Diocletian and protested that the Christians were wrongfully accused of being opposed to the common good of the city, that on the contrary they prayed for his estate and for the health of Rome. The Emperor immediately ordered that he should be brought into the prison of the palace and stoned to death. This was done, and his body was afterwards recovered and buried " ad catacumbas. Apud vestigia apostolorum."

[The little church of **S. Sebastiano in Palatio,** on the Palatine hill, standing in the vineyard belonging to the Barberini family, is said to have been raised on the place where Sebastian was martyred. The walls were originally covered with frescoes illustrating the lives of SS. Sebastian and Zoticus. But the only fragment left

after restoration is a group of Christ and four saints in the apse behind the high altar.]

The body of S. Sebastian was removed for safety to the Vatican in the ninth century, and retranslated to the Church of S. Sebastiano by Honorius III in 1218.

At an early date S. Sebastian was universally recognized as a patron of those in danger from the plague. It has been suggested that this arose from the fact that an arrow was the symbol of plague or pestilence among the ancients.

In the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, above the second altar in the left aisle, is a mosaic representing S. Sebastian as a bearded soldier. An inscription in Latin at the side is addressed to S. Sebastian, martyr, dispeller of pestilence. It tells how in the year 680 severe pestilence invaded the city of Rome, and continued to spread, until an altar was consecrated in this church to the martyr, "which thing being done, immediately the pestilence was commanded to cease."

On entering the Church of S. Sebastiano, on the wall to the left is a long inscription by Damasus written in fine characters in honour of S. Eutychius, martyred during the persecutions of Diocletian.

The Chapel of S. Sebastian is in the left aisle, not in the usual place for the titular saint of the church. Under the altar in the chapel is an urn containing the relics of the martyr.

In the Chapel of the Relics (right aisle) are preserved: the arrows which pierced S. Sebastian, and the column to which he was bound; the hand of S. Callixtus; the hand of S. Andrew; and, most important of all, the celebrated stone with the impression left by Christ's feet when he met S. Peter fleeing from Rome.

[A small round **chapel** on the Appian Way, close to the junction of the Via Ardeatina, marks the exact spot where the meeting between Christ and the apostle took place; and the church, "Domine quo vadis," about a hundred yards nearer to the city, has a copy of the footprints let in to the pavement.]

The entrance to the crypt or **Platonia,** in S. Sebastiano,

which lies at the back of the apse, is by a door to the left of the nave. A modern staircase leads to an irregular-shaped chamber, which has an altar in the centre with a rectangular opening covered by a bronze grating. This is the place where the bodies of the apostles Peter and Paul were hidden, and the sides are said to be lined with marble and decorated with a painting of Peter and Paul, which Lanciani declares to be of the fourth century, the time of Damasus.

Round the walls of the chamber are thirteen arcosolia, and a large inscription in red letters in honour of the martyr S. Quirinus.

The catacomb of S. Sebastian is entered by a door near to the chapel of the saint in the left aisle. It has been despoiled of almost all objects of interest except a few inscriptions, and is hardly worth a visit.

THE CHRISTIAN MUSEUM OF THE LATERAN

[The Lateran Museum has two branches—the classical and the Christian, open on alternate days of the week. The entrance to the Christian Museum is on the side of the building, towards the Porta S. Giovanni. Open on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.]

This museum has one of the finest collections of sculpture and inscriptions of the early Christian period to be found in Europe.

The sarcophagi are arranged on the ground floor; the inscriptions are mounted upon the walls of a splendid open gallery on the first floor; and in the adjoining rooms there is a small collection of pictures.

Entering the first corridor on the **ground floor** notice on the wall (R) close to the door, No. 3, a small relief, Noah in the ark. This is a hieroglyphic sign for the baptized Christian, who at the end of his journey through the waters of this world receives the reward

of celestial peace. There are several interesting sarcophagi in this corridor dating from before the fourth century, the characteristic feature of the sculptures being the mixture of pagan and Christian subjects.

Amongst these note No. 21, against the right wall, with the figure of the dead person holding a roll of parchment, and in the act of speaking to indicate the profession of an orator or teacher. At his feet is a Phœnix, an emblem of resurrection. At either side are winged genii, representing (R) winter with a hare and a dog; (L) summer with flowers and fruit; on the ends of the tomb are pastoral scenes, of shepherds and their dogs and sheep.

On the opposite side of the corridor, **No. 26,** a very large sarcophagus has an interesting combination of Christian and classical subjects. In the centre a husband and wife join hands, and behind them is the goddess Juno, patroness of marriage, who unites the pair with her arms. At the feet of the figures, Psyche and Amor embrace. To the right Christ raises Lazarus, and Moses strikes the rock. On the opposite side Christ raises the dead, and heals the man born blind. This combination of biblical scenes is intended to indicate that the promise of immortality is the privilege of the baptized.

Next to this a small sarcophagus, **No. 37.** On the front is the bust of the dead person, at each side are the seasons, and on the ends are two large griffins with a vase between them, a design frequently found on Roman and Etruscan urns.

On the walls are several pastoral scenes, figures of dolphins and sea-monsters, and other pagan subjects capable of allegorical interpretation in the Christian sense. The dolphin came to be used in place of the fish as the symbol of Christ in the third century.

No. 55 dates from the early part of the fourth century. Subjects from the Old and New Testaments are used as though they were hieroglyphic signs, and are placed side by side so as to bring out their mystical correspondence. Upper row (L). The raising of Lazarus—

a pledge of the general resurrection and (2 and 3) Peter's denial, and Moses receiving the tables of the Law. An association of subject resting on the prophecy of Luke xxii. 31, where Peter is warned of his weakness and yet described as the maintenance of the brethren.

He was regarded as a second Moses who should lead a second people into the promised land. In the centre is a medallion with the portraits of two men. (4 and 5) The sacrifice of Isaac, and Pilate washing his hands: the willing victim Isaac, a type of Christ, is placed as though kneeling before the Roman Governor who declares the innocence of this righteous man.

Lower row (left) (6) Moses, attacked by the rebellious Jews, points to the column of flame, a figure of salvation through baptism (1 Cor. x. 5). (7) Daniel in the Den, fed by Habbakuk: the deliverance of Daniel was a pledge of the soul from death; the food he received was significant of the sacramental food. (8) An old man under a tree expounds the law to the Jews. (9 and 10) Christ heals the blind and feeds the multitudes. The miracle of the giving of sight signified the illumation received in baptism; the multiplication of bread in the hands of the disciples was a type of the Eucharistic food distributed to all nations.

On the wall above are three pieces of mosaic. **No. 58** represents part of the nativity scene, the washing of the Child. This mosaic came from the old basilica of S. Peter's.

Turn to the left, enter a **corridor** with sarcophagi ranged along the walls.

Note **statues** of the Good Shepherd, against the end wall. The one on the left is unfinished, and the lamb is placed very awkwardly upon the Shepherd's neck.

But **No. 103,** on the right, is one of the best representations of this subject to be found in Christian art.

Sarcophagus **104,** an unfinished example of the fourth century. The figures are well proportioned, although the work is unimaginative and lacking in grace. Upper row (left) (1) Creation of Man by the Trinity. (2) Christ gives a sheaf of corn to Adam and

a lamb to Eve, symbols of the Eucharistic bread and the paschal sacrifice. (3) The Temptation and Fall. In the centre is a medallion with a roughly sketched portrait of a husband and wife. (4 and 5) The miracles of the Changing of Water into Wine and the Multiplying of the Loaves and Fishes: symbols of the sacramental life.

Lower row (left) (1) The Adoration of the Magi, who offer a crown (royalty), frankincense (worship), and myrrh (embalming). (2) Healing of the Blind. (3) Daniel in the Den. (4, 5, and 6) The Warning of Peter, the Rebellion of the Israelites, the Striking of the Rock.

The following passage from a writer of the fourth century might have inspired the sculptor of this sarcophagus:—

"We have fallen, can we not rise? We have been blinded; cannot we recover sight? We have been crippled; cannot our feet become straight? In a word, we are dead; is there no resurrection? Shall not He, O man, who woke Lazarus, a corpse of four days, shall not He much more easily raise up thee, a living man?"

On the same landing, to the left of No. 104, is a sarcophagus, **No. 111,** illustrating one incident only—viz. the Crossing of the Red Sea. Moses turns to look at the overthrow of his pursuers. And the Israelites set out towards the promised land. The scene was treated as a symbol of the deliverance of the soul from temptation in its passage through this life. It was also a figure of the Christian in baptism who is freed from the servitude of sin as the Israelites were saved from the Egyptians.

On the stairs (left), No. 119, is a fine work of the third century. There is something of classical style preserved in the sculpture, and an attempt is made to give unity to the composition by repeating the figure of the whale in the centre.

Upper left corner: Raising of Lazarus. Passing some small figures among clouds belonging to the story below; Moses strikes the rock, and is attacked by the Jews.

Below to the left Jonah is cast out of the ship and swallowed by the whale. Above are representations of the winds in classical style. On the right Jonah is thrown up by the whale on the shore where a fisherman and a sea bird are at work catching fish. Close to the coils of the second monster is Noah in the ark. Above in the right corner Jonah lies asleep under the gourd, and a shepherd leads his flock into the fold.

The doctrinal ideas are in this case illustrated with poetic imagery. The water of baptism is represented as a great sea from which fish are drawn by the fisherman, as men are drawn from the font. Noah, who passed safely over the waters of the deluge which purged the world of sin, is a type of the baptized Christian who receives in the Church the peace of heaven from the Holy Spirit. In the sea is the dragon of death which devours every man. But since Christ, a second Jonah, was delivered from the grave after three days, the souls of all who believe in him shall be delivered and shall rest like Jonah under the shade of the trees of Paradise, and be welcomed by the shepherd into the fold.

(Left) No. 125. Behind the figures is an architectural background representing the gates and walls of a town. Beginning at the left, Christ heals the two blind men who followed Him out of the gate of Jerusalem. Note that in representations of the miracles the person who is healed is always figured of small size. Next to this scene is the healing of the woman who touched the hem of Christ's garment, followed by the Raising of the Sick of the Palsy, and, lastly, the Triumphal Entry through the Gate of Jerusalem. The Gentile world was typified by the woman who touched Christ unseen and was made whole unknown, and also by the palsied man saved by his faith. The triumphal entry into Jerusalem signified the victorious entry of the dead into Paradise. In this composition there is an air of excitement, and a rush of persons with their arms raised, suggesting a song of thanksgiving or a pæan of victory won over sin and death.

On the end of **No. 135 (left)** is the scene of the Three

Hebrew Children in the Furnace. They are in Eastern dress, with trousers and tunics and Phrygian caps. Their arms are outstretched like the "Oranti." In Christian art the Three Hebrew Children are often associated with the Magi. This crowded work on the front illustrates the decadence of the Roman school of sculptors in the fifth century.

Beginning at the left the subjects are: the Fall of Adam and Eve, who cover themselves with leaves; the miracles of Changing Water into Wine, of Healing the Blind and Raising the Dead. Then follows the Prophecy of Peter's Leadership: the Healing of the Palsied Man, the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Rebellion of the Jews against Moses, the Striking of the Rock.

Immediately above on the wall is the cover of a sarcophagus, **No. 136,** with the unusual subject of Daniel killing the Dragon, which was worshipped by the Babylonians. The other scenes are: The Temptation of Adam and Eve; Christ multiplying the Loaves and Fishes; a prophet with a box of parchment rolls; Pilate washing his hands while his wife tells her dream.

In the **upper corridor** are several sculptures of pastoral scenes, some of which express a certain amount of tender sentiment with dignified simplicity. On the **right, No. 150,** has the Good Shepherd at one end, and an Orante at the other. The oranti represent either the soul of the dead person buried in the tomb, or the church of believers generally. The reliefs, which are poor in style, have been gilt, an evidence of a time of wealth and luxury. To the **left,** on **No. 193,** the offerings of Cain and Abel are represented, a subject which has not occurred before. The Almighty is figured without any attributes of divinity. Cain offers grapes, and Abel a lamb. Next to Abel is the awkwardly placed figure of Christ giving the sheaf of corn to Adam, who covers himself with leaves. In the centre is the portrait of the dead woman holding tablets. Then follow the customary four miracles of Healing the Paralytic and the Blind Man, of Changing the Water into Wine and the Raising of Lazarus.

Cain's offering foreshadowed the carnal sacrifice of the Old Law, Abel's the spiritual sacrifice of the New. The earthly offering was rejected, and the spiritual accepted, as the Old Law was superseded by the law of the gospel.

On the wall above, the cover of a sarcophagus (**No. 194**) has a striking image of immortal blessedness. Six sheep, members of Christ's flock, have received the incorruptible crown of life, and they are welcomed in Paradise by Christ, or by one of the saints. Paradise is indicated by the palm trees in the background. The palm with its ever-green leaves was a figure of resurrection, and from its association with public triumphs and the prizes given to victors in the games, it became for the Christians an emblem of conquest over the grave.

A number of slabs have representations of the Nativity, such as **Nos. 183, 185, 190,** and at the end of the corridor near the stairway, **199.** The humble birth of Christ was not commonly represented until after the fourth century, when Christianity had become the dominant religion. The scene is not presented historically. In Nos, 183, 185, and 190 the mother does not appear at all, and in No. 199 it is doubtful whether the seated woman draped like a prophetess, who turns away from the cradle, can be intended for Mary. The young shepherd standing on the right of the cradle signifies the adoration of the Jewish world, as the Magi represent the adoration of the Gentile world. The principal features of the Nativity scene are the ox and the ass adoring the Child in the manger. No mention of these animals is made in the gospels, but in an apocryphal "Gospel of the Infancy" it is said that on the third day after the birth Mary came out of the cave and went into the stalls and laid the child in the manger, and the ox and ass adored Him. This incident was widely repeated, and appears in the liturgies for the festival of Christmas.

The passage in Isaiah (i. 3): "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib"; and also the Vulgate rendering of Habbakuk iii. 2: "In the midst

of two animals thou shalt recognize thy lord," were regarded as prophetic announcements of the presence of these animals at the Nativity. The sculptures concentrate attention upon the worship paid to the Redeemer by the whole world, including the animal kingdom.

No. 151, the front of a small sarcophagus on the wall to the right, should be noticed as an illustration of the favourite subject of the Mosaics in Roman churches. Christ stands in the centre, upon a mountain, and below are the much smaller figures of Peter and Paul. The mountain is a symbol of divinity and majesty, and is generally represented with four streams flowing from it, to signify the water of life distributed by the four gospels over the world. The other scenes relate to the Passion, and to the martyrdom of Peter, and should be compared with Nos. 164 and 171.

Below is **No. 152,** a fine sarcophagus with its cover. The inscription tells that Crescentius during his lifetime made this monument for his wife Agapena, who lived "cum compare suo" five years. Underneath is added the date of the death of the husband, who lived 101 years.

No. 181 (left) is probably the oldest sarcophagus in the collection; it may date from the beginning of the third century. The figures are well-proportioned and in good classical style. In the centre is the Good Shepherd, and beside Him stands a woman with arms raised in prayer, who may represent the dead person, or may be a type of the Christian believer generally. On the right is a group of women, on the left a group of men, in both cases denoting teachers and disciples.

The dignified pose and restrained gestures of the figures belong to the tradition of pagan art; but the faces, which express animation, eagerness, and in the two principal characters a certain tender sentiment, mark the existence of a new feeling, of which no trace could be found upon pagan monuments. At the angles are two large rams in awkward positions. They probably signify the flock for whom the Good Shepherd laid down His life.

No. 183A. A complete sarcophagus stands in the middle of the gallery. It is coarse work of the fourth century. The subject is one commonly illustrated upon pagan tombs, viz. the gathering of the vintage by winged genii: the harvest scene is divided by three large figures of shepherds carrying sheep on their shoulders, which distinguish the work as Christian. For the Romans in pre-Christian times the vine harvest was an allegory of death, the genii who gathered the grapes were the messengers who carried off human lives. For the Christians, on the other hand, the gay scene of harvest labour symbolized the fruitful joys of eternal life. On the ends of the sarcophagus are (left) scenes of the carrying of the grapes and of pressing them in a vat; and (right) personifications of the seasons with appropriate emblems.

We may compare with such a sarcophagus as this the great porphyry tomb of Constantine now in the Museo Pio Clementino of the Vatican.

No. 156 (right) has the figure of Orpheus resting his lyre upon a little pillar. At his feet is a sheep, and on the branch of a tree is a dove, to indicate the animals who were attracted by the sweetness of the poet's music. The poems attributed to the Thracian Orpheus were held in great veneration by many of the early Christian writers. It was supposed that he introduced monotheism to the Greeks, and that he had learned something of the truth from the writings of Moses. The myth of the wild and savage beasts tamed by the music of Orpheus was interpreted by the Christians as an allegory of the power of Christ "who should draw all men unto Him."

Opposite, on the **left, Nos. 175 and 176** have subjects which can all be identified from previous examples. In No. 175, at the extreme right of the upper row, Christ is seated teaching His disciples.

No. 177, high on the wall, is a bas-relief found near the cemetery of S. Lorenzo. Christ dressed as a simple shepherd stands in the centre, holding a crooked staff and caressing a sheep. On either side of Him are six

disciples. Four of them carry books, and beside each apostle is a sheep, to represent the flock of believers, or perhaps the various churches with which the disciples were individually connected.

No. 174 (on the **left**), a fine work believed to date from the time of Constantine, is perhaps the most beautiful of all the sarcophagi. The front is divided by the sculptured columns of a richly ornamented portico. The figures are well proportioned on the whole, and the general effect is gracious, and inspired by lofty sentiment. In the centre, Christ is seated on a high throne. He is young and unbearded, and the arrangement of the hair and outline of the features recall certain types of the classical Apollo and Bacchus. His feet rest upon a veil, held above the head of a half-figure, a personification either of the firmanent or of the rivers of Paradise. In pagan sculptures similar half-figures holding veils are used as emblems of marine deities or as personifications of rivers and fountains. It is probable, therefore, that this is another way of representing Christ upon the mountain, from which flow the living streams of the gospel. The Saviour gives an open roll to Peter (on the spectator's right), and on the left another apostle, presumably Paul, raises his hands in praise. The Sacrifice of Isaac, and Pilate washing his hands, fill up the spaces to the right and left. The ends of this sarcophagus have sculptures in low relief, which differ in style from the front. On the left Peter's Denial ; on the right the healing of the woman with the issue of blood, and Moses striking the Rock. In the background is a finely designed tree, to indicate the miracle wrought by Moses when he changed the bitter waters into sweet. On both ends the background is filled with buildings, whose doors and windows should be noted as typical of Christian architecture in the fourth century. On the wall above are facsimile paintings of two "loculi," or stones which close the graves in the cemetery of Thrason on the Via Salaria. Opposite (on the **right**), **No. 161** may be noticed as an example of decadent style. In the centre of the biblical

stories stands an orante. The cover is sculptured with subject similar to those found upon pagan tombs.

No. 164 (right) and **No. 171 (left)** should be compared. They are of late date, probably of the fifth century, a period when the Christians no longer fearing pagan mockery of a crucified god, began to represent the Passion scenes. The central subject of these tombs is the symbol of the Resurrection, expressed by the Greek letter tau, supporting the monogram of Christ, enclosed in a triumphal wreath of olives. The tau, which signifies the Cross of Christ is transformed into a figure of His victorious resurrection.

On No. 164 two doves rest on the arms of the Cross, probably signifying souls who have been raised up by Christ. Underneath the Cross are two soldiers asleep.

No. 171, a sarcophagus found in the cemetery of Domitilla, illustrates in an interesting fashion one of the characteristic points of early Christian art.

In the extreme left Simon is shown bearing the Cross, and pushed on by a soldier; Christ Himself does not appear. In the next scene Jesus stands with His hands folded while a soldier lightly places a crown of flowers upon His head. In the centre is the triumphal Cross of the Resurrection, and to the right Christ stands before Pilate, who declares His innocence. The sufferings of the Passion are here veiled and seen only in the light of the final victory.

On the wall above 164, **No. 165** may be compared with **No. 117,** on the right side of the stairs. Both represent people seated round a semicircular table, upon which are pieces of bread marked with a cross, and fish, or a lamb. These banquets on the sarcophagi may represent (1) an image of souls in heaven partaking of the eternal banquet; (2) a sacramental or Eucharistic feast; (3) an Agape, or common meal, to which the poor were invited.

At the foot of the short stairway which leads to the upper rooms note No. 198, a fragment representing the Ascension of Elijah. The horses of the chariot are evidently inspired by classical models, and are pre-

sented with great spirit. Above the horses stand the children who mocked at Elisha, and below are the bears sent to devour the mockers. The translation of Elijah to heaven without suffering death was a testimony to the power of God, and an argument for the Resurrection. In his ascent Elijah was also a type of Christ in His Ascension, and Elisha his servant who received the gift of the mantle represents the Church receiving the gift of the Spirit.

On the staircase are a number of fragments of sculpture and mosaic. On the landing is the seated figure of **S. Hippolytus** (the head is restored). This is the only portrait statue in the round of early Christian times that has come down to us. Hippolytus, a Roman bishop, suffered martyrdom by drowning between 235 and 239 A.D. His most important work is a refutation of all heresies, the manuscript of which was discovered in 1842. On the left arm of the chair the titles of some of the bishop's writings are inscribed in Greek, and on the right arm is a paschal calendar compiled by him.

The Collection of Inscriptions.

A short staircase leads to a fine open gallery where a magnificent collection of inscriptions brought from the catacombs and churches is admirably displayed upon the walls. On entering the corridor a door to the right gives entrance to a hall where there is a large **mosaic pavement** with portraits of boxers found in the Baths of Caracalla. In the art of the sarcophagi men were represented as symbols of spiritual ideals, rather than as human beings ; in this example of pagan art the human beings are represented as types of a material ideal of physical strength.

Above the door of the gallery which leads into the Hall of the Boxers is a fragment of an inscription found near Tivoli. It is part of a sepulchral monument to Publius Sulpicius Qurinius, who was governor of Syria at the time of the Nativity.

To the left of the entrance, on a small pillar, is a cippus with an inscription relating to S. Abercius, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, who lived in the time of Marcus Aurelius. This interesting fragment was found by Professor Ramsay, and given by the Sultan to Leo XIII.

The inscription is part of a hymn in which the saint speaks of himself as the disciple of the immaculate Shepherd, and describes how in his travels he was guided by faith, that placed before him for food the divine Ichthys, with wine and bread.

The inscriptions on the walls are arranged under different headings. 1 and 2 relate to public monuments; 3, Damasian inscriptions in honour of the martyrs; 4 to 7, those which bear consular dates; 8 and 9 refer to matters of dogma; 10, 11, and 12 relate to illustrious persons, to families and nationalities; 14 to 16 have symbols and emblems; 17 to 24 unusual phrases, and inscriptions from named cemeteries; 25, from Jewish cemeteries.

These epitaphs range in date from the first to the sixth centuries. At first the date was signified only by the names of the consuls. Towards the end of the fourth century bishops' names take the place of the consuls. The date of the Christian era was not used until after the sixth century.

In this collection there is one of the first century, and seven of the third, placed together at the top of Division IV. By far the greatest number belong to the fourth century. The words were engraved or painted upon the stone, and were frequently divided from one another by some ornament, such as a leaf or an asterisk or cross. Many are in Greek, especially those of early date, for this language was in common use among the Church officials of the first three centuries.

The letters D.M. and D.M.S., abbreviations of the pagan invocation to the gods of the underworld (diis manibus sacris) are found upon some Christian epitaphs (see, for example, No. 32, Division IX). It has been supposed that they were intended to represent the words Deo magno sacro, but it is more probable that they were

carved in the ready-made sepulchral stones in pagan workshops, and were regarded by the Christians as harmless and insignificant. The use of the letters entirely disappears after the establishment of Christianity as the dominant religion.

The confident assertion of immortality is the note of these early epitaphs. Both by words and by the use of symbols the continued existence of the dead is repeatedly expressed. They are addressed as though still alive: "Be in peace"; "God refresh thy spirit"; They are called upon by name: "Irene vivas"; "Concordi vivas in pace." The body was laid down (depositus) to wait for the day of resurrection, and the soul which is spoken of as knowing nothing of death (nescit mori) is described as being with Christ, with the saints, set free from the body, received by God (accepta apud deum), born into eternity (natus est in eternum), sleeping (dormit), resting (quiescit), in peace and in the light of God. "Dormit sed vivit" sums up the belief of the epitaphs. The name which the dead person received in baptism is the only one inscribed on the gravestone; there is no mention of parentage, nor of country, of honours nor offices. These brief epitaphs, however, glow with the warmth and light of a great inspiration; they are intense, exalted, and tender.

Although there are many expressions of affection, there are seldom any words of grief or regret for the separation caused by death. Instead of the "Vale, longum vale," or "Vale æternum" of the pre-Christian monuments, we find occasionally the almost joyful "Vale in Christo."

The formula "in pace" is not to be found upon pagan monuments, and its origin is probably the "Pax tecum," "Pax vobis," which occurs frequently in the Scriptures (Gen. XLIII. 23; Judges VI. 23; John XX. 19).

During the course of the third century the style of the inscriptions changes. The dead are no longer addressed by name, and the words, "Hic requiescit in pace," "hic jacet" are used as introductory. Praises of the dead are more common, and less simple. Prayers

are made for the welfare of the dead by the living, who in their turn invoke the intercession of the dead on their behalf in general and indefinite terms.

Those inscriptions which have **symbolical figures** are likely to prove of most interest to the general student, and we may pass at once to the Divisions XIV, XV, and XVI.

Division XIV. No. 1, at the top, has the bust of the dead person and the Visit of the Magi.

Several stones have images of the Good Shepherd without any divine attributes. Biblical figures are used almost like hieroglyphic signs to indicate doctrinal ideas. Thus in No. 7 the Fall, the Coming of a Saviour, and the deliverance of the believer are expressed by the figures, Adam and Eve, the Good Shepherd, and Daniel between the Lions. No. 8, with a Greek inscription, has a shepherd, with a lion on one side, to indicate Daniel's deliverance, and a whale casting up Jonah on the other side.

The anchor engraved upon several stones is the most ancient of all the Christian symbols. It is the only one used in the second century, and it disappears from the sepulchral stones in the third. It was used as a figure of hope by the pagans, by whom the most powerful anchor of a ship was called "the last hope." From the likeness of the anchor, in shape, to the cross, it was for the Christians an emblem for the expression "spes in Christo." Because of the association of the idea of firm fixity with the anchor, it was also an emblem of the word "secura," safety.

Nos. 10, 14, 15 are intended to represent the Raising of Lazarus. On a number of stones near to these are rough designs of a fish. The Greek word "Ichthys," fish, an acrostic for the titles "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour," was reproduced repeatedly in the third century as a conventional sign of the faith.

When the use of Greek as a spoken language declined in the fourth century the Ichthys gave place to the dolphin.

On Nos. 29–31 is the Gamma Cross, so called because

it resembles a combination of the Greek letter gamma. This sign does not appear among the inscriptions until the fourth century.

The Constantinian monogram, as on Nos. 32–6, and 43, came into common use with the triumph of Christianity. The form of the Cross used on Nos. 37–39 occurs all through the fourth and fifth centuries, and preceded the true sign of the Cross itself.

There are a number of figures of oranti. Tertullian explains why this attitude was adopted by the early Church: "We Christians" (he says) "not only raise our hands in prayer as the Jews do, but we stretch them out, taking our model from the Lord's Passion. So that even in prayer we give praise to Christ."

Sometimes the figure of the orante as a full-grown woman is placed on tombs of men and of children, the intention being to represent the soul or the general body of the believing Church.

The heads and busts of Peter and Paul as the founders of the Church in Rome frequently appear on the epitaphs of the fifth century.

Division XV. There are here a large number of inscriptions with the dove symbol in various relations.

As a rule the dove represents the soul set free from the body. Thus in Nos. 1–13 the orante and the dove are probably placed together to signify the communion that exists between the believers upon earth and the souls of those who are with God.

Nos. 22–30 have doves beside the monogram, doves drinking from a vase and eating grapes. All such figures are used to indicate the blessedness of the after life, where, in the words of an inscription, the soul knows nothing of death, it lives and knows joy in the sight of Christ (mens nescia mortis, vivit et aspectu fruitur bene conscia Christi).

No. 23 has two doves standing on palm branches, bringing olive sprigs to the monogram, which is in the form of a Latin cross, an illustration of the expression "living in peace and with Christ."

The vase may sometimes stand for the vessel of holy

wine which Christ promised that His disciples should drink anew with Him in the kingdom of heaven. In certain cases, however, where the name of the dead person is written upon the vase, it is evident that this is the earthen vessel, the human body of which Paul spoke (Romans IX. 21). In later times the subject of birds drinking from a vase was used as a symbol of the Eucharist; but in the early centuries this significance is not established.

Birds with baskets of fruit and garlands of flowers represent that life in peace, "where the herbage beside the river is evergreen, where souls await God, through whom they shall arise to the upper air."

No. 51 has a horse running, which may indicate the course of life in accordance with the allegorical interpretation of the passages 1 Corinthians IX. 24, and Hebrews XII. 1.

The ship drawing towards a lighthouse (Nos. 62 and 63) represents the soul which has passed over the sea of this life, and is about to reach the port of salvation.

Under **Division XVI** are a number of epitaphs with emblems of the names, trades, or professions of the dead persons.

Nos. 1–10 have tools used by stonemasons, carpenters, and builders; No. 14–19 gravediggers' (fossores) implements; Nos. 26–8 emblems of a barber's trade; No. 33 a smith's workshop; Nos. 34–6 shoemakers' tools; No. 39 a man threshing, with the inscription, "Maximus . . . amicus omnium."

The Picture Gallery, in the Lateran Museum.

A stair leads from the sarcophagus gallery in the Lateran Museum to a small collection of pictures in the upper storey of the building. From the top of the stair pass through the Hall of the Mosaic of Boxers (found in the Baths of Caracalla) and enter the first room in which there are a number of frescoes removed from churches and catacombs. From S. Niccolo in Carcere in Trastevere, baptism of Christ, fragments

of birds, flowers, fruit, etc. From the catacombs of S. Agnese scenes from the life of S. Catherine, and frescoes from the catacombs of S. Callixtus.

Room II. To right and left of the door altar-pieces by *Carlo Crivelli*; passing round the room to the left altar-piece by *Antonio Vivarini*: Assumption of the Virgin. S. Thomas receives the Girdle, by *Benozzo Gozzoli*. Coronation of the Virgin, by *Filippo Lippi*. S. Jerome, by *Giovanni Santi*. S. Lorenzo, Assumption of the Virgin, and S. Susanna, all by *Cola dell'Amatrice*. On the window wall Madonna and Child, said to be from the catacombs of S. Callixtus. In the centre of the room a figure of Flora in mosaic found in the Palazzo Sora.

Room III. Turn to the left. Madonna and Child, with SS. John Baptist and Jerome, and Madonna and Child, with SS. John Baptist, Lorenzo, Pietro, Antonio, and S. Lucia, both by *Palmezzano*. Annunciation by *Francia* (?). Holy Family ascribed to *Andrea del Sarto*. SS. Peter and Paul, by *Fra Bartolommeo*. Baptism of Christ, by *Cesare da Sesto*.

Room IV. Portrait of Sixtus V, by *Domenichino*; and a portrait attributed to *Vandyck*.

Room V has in it an elaborate prie-dieu presented to Leo XIII. Returning to the stair of entrance there is opposite a small room containing copies of frescoes from the catacombs.

The Kircher Museum.

The Museo Kircheriano, in the Collegio Romano (entrance in the Via del Collegio Romano, open every day) has a small collection of inscriptions, sculptures, lamps, etc., from the Christian catacombs.

This collection, founded by the Jesuit Father Athanasius Kircher, who died in 1680, is combined with a large prehistoric and ethnographical museum. To reach the Christian museum, which is arranged in two rooms (Nos. 51 and 52), one must pass through the corridors containing the other collections.

Room L. Turn to the left on entering. On the walls are sepulchral stones used to close the "loculi" or niches in the catacombs. They generally bear the name of the dead person, with the date of death and a symbolical figure. On some of the examples, dating from the early centuries, the dead are addressed in the second person, as though still alive, "vivas," "vivas in pace," thou livest in peace, etc. The dove, anchor, fish, monogram, and other figures are used as ideographic signs. (For the meaning attached to these symbols see the Lateran Museum gallery of inscriptions.)

A few of the epitaphs here may be noticed as especially interesting. For example, on the wall of entrance close to the door, the second stone from the bottom has on it the word "Irenæus," with a dove beside the monogram, and below, a hare at full speed. The dead person, who was swift and vigilant as a hare, has finished his course (2 Tim. IV. 7), and now his spirit (the dove beside the monogram) rests in peace with Christ. Several of the inscriptions are in Greek; note one (top row, wall of entrance) which has an anchor with a fish on each side with the words "Fish" and "Saviour" in Greek.

On the wall to the left is a long stone with two fishes and five pieces of bread marked with a cross, a suggestive symbol of the baptized soul (the fish) fed upon the sacramental bread; and recalling, too, the miracle of the feeding of the thousands with five loaves and two fishes.

On the wall to the right of the window is a fragment illustrating the Parable of the Sower, an uncommon subject in early art.

Against the wall to the right of the entrance are cases containing lamps. The lamps found in the catacombs are made of bronze or terra-cotta, and appear to have been practically the same as those in domestic use. A limited range of symbolical subjects is to be found upon them. The most frequent are symbolical animals, such as the dove, signifying the spirit of the dead person; the fish (the baptized believer); the

peacock (the immortal soul); the cock (the vigilant Christian); the sheep (the faithful of the flock upon earth).

In the middle of the case in the top row, notice the figures of the spies bearing the grapes from the promised land, a symbol of the believer laden with good works.

Other cases in this room contain small panel pictures of various dates and a number of bronze articles, such as keys, weights, and balances, chains, etc.

In the case of bronzes, in the lower left corner is a lamp designed in the form of a dragon. The head of the beast is surmounted by a cross upon which rests the dove of the Holy Spirit; the whole thus forming an allegory of the triumph of Christ over the powers of evil.

On the wall is a fine piece of enamel in Byzantine style, found near S. M. in Trastevere.

The case in the centre of the room has a collection of ivories of different dates. On the second shelf is a casket with scenes from the life of David. In front is a little ivory fish which was worn as an amulet round the neck.

Room LI. In the centre of the room is a large vase of the fourth century, much broken and partly restored. On one side Christ is seated on a throne in the midst of His disciples. On the other side is the visit of the Magi. Mary sits on a high-backed chair with a footstool under her feet, and the Magi, four in number, come hurrying with their gifts from opposite directions. In this early representation all the essentials of the scene of the Adoration are presented with the utmost simplicity.

To the right of the window, against the wall, is a small statuette of the Good Shepherd. On a stand near the window is the celebrated inscription, found on the Palatine, which was for long regarded as a caricature of the Crucifixion by a pagan. The figure of a man is rudely scratched upon the stone, standing before an ass-headed deity which appears to be stretched upon a cross. The words "Alaxamenos adores his god" are written in Greek below. It is supposed now that this

may represent a worshipper belonging to a gnostic sect, which flourished about the year 300, and recognized the ass-headed Seth of the Egyptians as a god.

Among the fragments of sculpture fastened on the walls are some interesting subjects.

To the left of the entrance at the top, the three Magi, wearing the usual high-peaked caps, present their offerings to the Child. A portion of a sarcophagus near by shows Christ teaching His disciples, who are grouped at His feet with their heads quaintly turned up on their shoulders. The other figures represent miracles of healing.

On the wall to the right of the entrance is a panel with the seven-branched candlestick upheld by two angels. This sculpture came from a Jewish cemetery. On the same wall is a supper or Agape. Three persons are seated at a semicircle table: one with a large drinking vessel addresses his companions, whose attitudes express their emotion in a naïve fashion. They stretch out their hands to the pieces of bread marked with a cross. On the right a fourth person puts bread into a basket, and on the left is the Good Shepherd with His pipes and staff, looking back at the flock.

II

THE VATICAN COLLECTIONS

THE LIBRARY AND CHRISTIAN MUSEUMS

[THE Library is reached by the same entrance as the Museum of Sculptures and Antiquities (that is, at the north-western corner of the Vatican Palace). The glass door opposite to the foot of the staircase leading to the sculpture galleries admits to the Library. The public are only permitted to visit this part of the building under guidance of custodians, who expect a small fee. As very little time is allowed while passing through the rooms, these notes should be read beforehand.] We first enter a long gallery divided into three or four sections. Against the wall of entrance are two or three Roman busts ; to the right is the head of Marcus Aurelius. In the next section are two curious statues—one represents the god Mithras, as a lion-headed man with serpents twined round his body. On the opposite wall are a pair of porphyry columns with sculptured figures of two kings embracing. A similar subject occurs on the south wall of S. Mark's in Venice.

(The frescoes on the walls illustrating the lives of Pius VI and Pius VII are of no artistic interest.)

Passing through the third division, we reach the entrance to the **Great Hall** of the Library built by *Fontana*—a magnificent room with florid decorations. A number of porcelain vases, mosaic tables, and other ornaments are ranged down the middle of the room, gifts to the Popes from Royal personages.

The objects of chief interest are the **manuscripts** and illuminated books preserved in glass cases.

On the *left* the first case contains: a Bible of the fourth century in Greek, with the Septuagint Version of the Scriptures. Between this and the next MS. is a sketch by Raphael. Then follows one of the most famous Byzantine manuscripts in the world, the Menologium, or sacred calendar, with illuminations (chiefly martyrdom scenes) of the tenth century, typical of Byzantine art at the period of the highest perfection which it reached under the Macedonian Emperors.

On the opposite side of the case is a manuscript of the Commedia of Dante of the fifteenth century. Also a Breviary of the same century.

On the *right* side of the hall, the case near to the entrance into the reading room contains the Divine Comedy illustrated by Giulio Clovio, and a collection of manuscripts of Virgil's works. Note No. 3225: with several fine miniatures, it dates from the fourth or fifth century.

In the second case, half-way down the room, is the dedication copy of the work by Henry VIII on the Sacraments, printed in London in 1521. It was for this writing that the Pope conferred on the King the title of Defender of the Faith.

The third case contains the celebrated palimpsest with Augustine's commentary upon the Psalms, written above Cicero's "De republica"; also a MS. of Terence of the ninth century, with interesting miniatures. In the opposite division of the case is a collection of letters and other writings, with autographs of Tasso, Michael Angelo, Petrarch, and two letters from Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn.

From the large hall we pass through two cabinets into a long corridor, where the principal gifts received by Leo XIII in the year of Jubilee are arranged.

The three following sections form the **Museo Cristiano,** with much interesting and valuable handicraft in glass, metal, and earthenware, chiefly obtained from the catacombs and dating from the first five centuries.

Many of the objects throw light upon the significance and use of the symbolical figures which have become familiar to us from the early paintings and inscriptions.

A selection of the treasures in the Museum are shown in glass cases.

Case I has small panel pictures, mostly in Byzantine style. In the middle is a group of five Eastern saints in Byzantine costume. Below is a triptych: in the centre the Coronation of the Virgin; to the left Peter and Paul embrace; and to the right Paul and Anthony divide a loaf between them; examples of the love and charity upon which the Church is founded.

Beside this is a curious instance of the Byzantine manner of picturing the Descent into Hades. Hell is a yawning chasm in the side of a mountain; Christ stands upon the broken doors, and in front kneel Adam and Eve; above are angels.

Many of these small panels are marvellously brilliant, the result of a combination of pure colours with gilt backgrounds. In one corner of the case is an example of bookbinding in metal.

Case II has a number of reliquaries, crosses, seals, and rings. In the middle of the case are several massive rings, such as were placed on the fingers of the bishop at the ceremony of consecration, as a sign of the union between the bishop and the Church. They were used for the purpose of sealing up the receptacles containing relics of saints and martyrs, and hence they came to be regarded as of great sanctity. The rings shown here bear the signs of the dove, the monogram, the anchor, and the word "vivas."

Among the crucifixes a small bronze cross in the centre of the case should be noticed, in which Christ is clothed in a long tunic; it is believed to be of very early date.

Bronze medals of various periods have a variety of subjects—the Trinity, the Nativity, the Good Shepherd, the Magi, etc.

In the right-hand upper corner of the case is a beautiful oblong box in silver repoussé of the fourth century.

On one side Christ stands on a mountain from which flow the four rivers, a subject which frequently appears in the mosaics. On the opposite side of the box, stags and sheep drink from the water of life. The figures are carved with the delicacy, refinement, and dignity of the best Byzantine art.

Case III. Glass bottles, cups, etc. A large number of coloured glass vessels were found in the catacombs, embedded in the cement which closed the loculi. They consist chiefly of the bottoms of cups, the upper part having been destroyed. The designs are traced with gilt upon a blue or green background ; they represent a variety of subjects, such as the heads of Peter and Paul or other saints, and figures of an orante, with the name of the dead person inscribed. The Vatican possesses the largest collection of such glasses in existence.

Some of these representations are important links in the early history of Christian symbolism. Thus the figure of Moses striking the rock, on the bottom of a cup (gilt on a dark green background), has the word Petrus engraved above it, showing that Peter was regarded as the new Moses. A number of examples have the busts of Peter and Paul with a laurel crown between, or a winged youth holding crowns over their heads.

Case IV contains instruments of martyrdom and ornaments of tombs, etc. The flesh hooks, chains with lead balls, and iron pincers, discovered in the catacombs, are supposed to have been treasured as relics by the faithful. This case also contains a number of seals and amulets which were worn round the neck to ward off evil. These amulets take the form of fish, of the monogram, and the word "salva."

Case V. Ivories. In the lower left-hand corner is a Nativity scene of the eleventh century, in a gilt frame. Next to this is a Byzantine triptych of the tenth or eleventh century, very pure and fine in style. Christ sits on a throne between Mary and John ; at the sides there are rows of saints, with their names inscribed in upright fashion. A little gilding is used.

In the second division of the case is the famous dip-

tych of the ninth or tenth century, known as the cross of Rambona. Below the figure of Christ on the cross is the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. The intention is to indicate that Rome, the seat of the Empire, was divinely ordained to prepare the world for the spread of the gospel, so that all nations should be redeemed. Beside this is one half of a very beautiful book-cover (the other part is in the South Kensington Museum). Christ tramples the lion and dragon underfoot. On either side are angels. Among the smaller carvings a liturgical comb of the fourth century may be noticed with a relief showing a throne between two lambs. Also the top of a pastoral staff and some small statuettes.

The diptychs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are in much higher relief, and the compositions are more crowded with figures. One can see that the artist aimed at a picturesque effect, grouping his figures under arches elaborately adorned with architectural ornaments. The subjects are chiefly those connected with the Nativity and the Passion.

Case VI. Lamps, bronze and glass vessels. Many of the terra-cotta lamps which were found in the catacombs cemented on the walls at the side of the "loculi" have emblems such as the dove, the fish, the stag, or the monogram. Bronze lamps hung by chains from the roof were also found. These have symbolical forms, such as the ship of the Church. One shown here has a dolphin upon the body of the lamp, and the handle is formed of a serpent's head with the apple of temptation in its mouth. On the head of the serpent is the cross with the dove of the Holy Spirit, representing Christ's conquest over the devil. Compare the examples in the Kircher Museum. This case contains also a number of shallow bowls of glass and earthenware.

We pass through the Stanza dei Papiri (with charters mounted on the walls) into the **Hall of Byzantine and Mediæval paintings.**

The cupboards against the walls are filled with panel pictures, generally small in size. Many are of considerable interest, and the colouring of some of the examples

is particularly brilliant. The collection contains a few archaic panels either Byzantine or belonging to the native Italian school of the thirteenth century; a large number of panels are of the fourteenth century, and a few of the fifteenth owe their style to that of Fra Angelico.

On the left wall. *Case I.* The character of most of these panels may be described as Siennese. Note No. 5, Crucifixion, and No. 6, Lazarus.

Case II (C), No. 15, a small panel painted in a rude manner.

Case III. To the left, No. 1, a triptych with scènes of the Passion, a marvel of brilliant colour. No. 5, Death of the Virgin: Christ bears the soul, angels stand by the bier.

Case IV (E), No. 8, at the top left-hand corner, a fine example of an Ascension, full of mysterious exaltation,

Case V (F), No. 10 on the right near the bottom, a small Deposition of fine quality and beautiful colour. No. 1 (at the top) Christ, and No. 2 Magdalen, resembling in some degree the style of the school of Orcagna.

Case VI (G). Note a comparatively large picture of Madonna with her foot on the dragon. She has a magnificent green robe flowered with gold, and she bears a Cross of the Resurrection. At the sides of the panel are martyrdoms and scenes suggestive of the ultimate power of good over evil.

Case VII (H). Large triptych, Madonna and Child with saints in the wings. No. 5 (near the bottom to the right) is a curious example of the Nativity. The flame of the Holy Spirit hovers over a basin in which a woman girded with a towel is about to wash the Child; to the right the Magi approach, the mountain side is covered with sheep, a woman spins as she walks, and another carries water.

Case VIII (M). Nos. 7–12 represent the six works of mercy; No. 4, S. Antony buries S. Paul.

Case IX (N) on the left, No. 1. Burial of S. Francis. No. 7, Sposalizio. Near the foot, a series of Nativity

and Passion scenes in Byzantine style with legends in Greek.

Case XI (P), left, a number of small panels painted in the style of Fra Angelico. Nos. 10 and 11, two beautiful little pictures: Christ appears among the Doctors as a young child, and in the Transfiguration He is represented as though touched with the spirit of eternal youth. Note also No. 8, the Nativity, No. 9, the Magi, and No. 11, the Entry into Jerusalem.

On the end wall are two triptychs with Passion scenes, a Russian calendar of saints, and a sketch by Michael Angelo.

Case I (Q), against the right wall, has a number of panels of the fourteenth century.

Case VII (unlettered), No. 3, S. Francis, with small scenes at the side in the style of Margharitone. No. 2, a Crucifix of the thirteenth century.

At the end of the room is the **Chapel of Pius V**, with frescoes by Vasari, a full-length portrait of Pius IX painted on glass, and various articles of furniture presented to the Pope.

Returning to the hall of mediæval pictures, enter a room at the end, on the left. Here are preserved some fine specimens of **Roman wall painting**, discovered in the seventeenth century, and bought from Cardinal Aldobrandini by Pius VII in 1816. The scenes represent the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis. Besides these paintings there are some fragments of frescoes found on the Esquiline, and others from Ostia.

THE CHAPEL OF POPE NICHOLAS V

This chapel is entered from a hall connecting with the Stanze of Raphael. These latter rooms are reached by way of the Scala Regia to the right of the entrance to S. Peter's. Fra Angelico was born in 1387, and when twenty years old he entered the convent of S. Domenico, near Florence. In company with his brethren, he lived at Foligno and Cortona from 1409 to 1418, in which

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painters on the walls of the Vatican has been destroyed. The frescoes in this chapel painted by Fra Angelico soon after he came to Rome are the earliest remaining works. The last great painting was the "Judgment" of the Sistine Chapel, finished by Michael Angelo in 1541.

During the intervening years almost every phase of Tuscan and Umbrian art was illustrated on the walls of the palace of the Popes.

Critics are generally agreed that the frescoes in the Chapel of Nicholas V are the finest of Angelico's works; widely different standpoints, however, in most other respects have been taken. Some have regarded the painter as having been affected by the new influences of his time. His imaginative spirituality, his aloofness from the everyday world, his naïve pleasure in the joys of the contemplative life, the sweetness of his emotional nature, the severity of his technical methods, have caused some historians of art to regard him as belonging to the tradition of the Siennese Taddeo Bartolo, or the Florentine Orcagna, and as having had little in common with his own contemporaries, such as Masaccio, and Fra Filippo Lippi.

Other critics have declared that Angelico was an innovator, that he was the first painter to follow the sculptors in representing the Christ-child as naked, that he dealt in original fashion with problems of aerial perspective, that in his landscape he went straight to nature, and that he was indeed a true son of his times.

The question of the authorship of the frescoes has raised as much discussion as that of their tendency. It is generally admitted that assistance was given to Fra Angelico; some critics have minimized its importance, whilst others have regarded it as of serious moment.

Turning to the frescoes themselves, there are on the roof of the chapel the four evangelists—No. 1 (on plan i) S. Matthew; 2, S. Mark; 3, S. Luke; and 4, S. John. Arranged round the frescoes on the wall of entry, and under elaborate Gothic canopies, there are figures of

great doctors and teachers. 5, S. Ambrose; 6, S. Augustine; 7, S. Jerome; and 8, S. Thomas Aquinas. Similar paintings round the window (not seen in the plan) represent S. Athanasius, Pope Leo the Great, Pope Gregory the Great, and S. John Chrysostom.

Of the principal frescoes the upper range tell the story of S. Stephen, and the lower that of S. Lawrence. These two saints were united by a common impulse, love moved them both to works of mercy, and this concord in a common aim found its fulfilment even in death, for their ashes rest together in a single urn under the high altar in the basilica of S. Lorenzo, f.l.m.

We begin with the history of S. Stephen (**No. 9**, plan i), Ordination of S. Stephen. S. Peter stands on the steps of the altar, and bends forward to give the sacrament to the young deacon. The group of heavily robed apostles who look on may be contrasted with the disciples who surround Christ in the famous scene of the "Tribute Money" painted by Masaccio, in the Church of the Carmine at Florence.

The architectural background in this fresco has been painted by Fra Angelico in the style of the Renaissance

No. 10 (plan i). St. Stephen distributes alms, and a tonsured youth at his side reads the names from a list. There is a good deal of unaffected naturalism in the group of those who receive the dole, and of simple grace in the robed and veiled figures of the women.

No. 11 (plan i). S. Stephen preaching. The preacher makes no passionate appeal to the emotions; it is rather a calm and unrhetorical call to the higher spiritual life. The audience of women at his feet answer with rapt attention. They are neither Roman matrons nor mediæval saints; they are simple wives and daughters living commonplace lives it may be, but touched by the vision which the saint draws, and musing wistfully on its realization.

No. 12 (plan i). S. Stephen before the Council. The scene is one of judicial calm. The witnesses mark off, point by point, the charges against the accused. The High Priest, with grave and solemn bearing, seems to

ask, "Are these things true?" Then Stephen begins his appeal. The Jews who look on are striking personalities.

Nos. 13 and **14** (plan i). Martyrdom of S. Stephen. The limitation of power is noticeable here. The figure of S. Stephen hurried along to the place of execution shows want of capacity to control the human form in action. Compare the dignified and competent representation of Saul standing at rest as he looks on at the stoning. Note also the peculiarities of Fra Angelico's landscape.

We now turn to the story of S. Lawrence. It is said that when Pope Sixtus II (258 *circ.*) went to Spain he found two young men, "noble in all their works." These were Lawrence and his cousin Vincent. The Pope brought them with him to Rome, and Lawrence was ordained as his archdeacon. This is the subject of the fresco **No. 15** (plan i), in which the figure of Sixtus II is painted as Nicholas V. Ecclesiastical ceremonial takes the place of spiritual elevation, and yet there is a genial simplicity in the group of tonsured officials surrounding the Pope. The architectural background is in the style of the Renaissance.

No. 16 (plan i). Pope Sixtus II gives the wealth of the Church to the keeping of S. Lawrence. The Emperor Philip and his son were converted to Christianity, and the Emperor was murdered by Decius, either because of the change, or for the sake of the succession. The younger Philip gave his wealth to Sixtus and fled. When Decius heard of this he ordered the Pope to be thrown into prison. This is the moment chosen by *Angelico*. Sixtus stands with a bag of money, an attendant brings other valuables, and Lawrence kneels as he receives the treasure. Outside two Roman soldiers arrive on their errand and knock at the door.

No. 17 (plan i). S. Lawrence distributes the wealth of the Church to the widows and children, the halt and the maimed. The groups of unfortunates are painted with a keen sense of reality. The directness of style which sets down neither the more nor the less, reveals

the mild asceticism of the friar to whom poverty was part of the daily business of life. The place where the alms were given is, according to tradition, that now occupied by the Church of S. Maria in Domnica.

No. 18 (plan i). S. Lawrence before Decius. When Pope Sixtus was led out to be beheaded, Lawrence prayed that he might not be separated from him. He had fulfilled the Pope's command to distribute the treasure, and desired to be martyred with him. When the guards heard of treasure they led Lawrence before Decius. The court is held on an open terrace, the judgment seat forms part of a highly ornamented and stately Renaissance design. The wall is hung with a fine green tapestry. At the foot of the judgment seat lie the instruments of torture. About the scene itself there is an air of arrested animation. Lawrence stands with his hands fastened behind his back without a trace of physical emotion ; but in his gaze, which seems to stretch far beyond the Emperor and his soldiers, there is an appeal for spiritual help. His robe, as in the almsgiving, is figured with a pattern of burning flames, significant of the ardour of the divine love which moved his soul. When Lawrence refused to answer about the treasure he was sent to prison in charge of Hippolytus. During his confinement he worked miracles and taught his jailer, so that the latter was baptized. The traditional fountain still springs in the Church of S. Lorenzo in fonte.

No. 19 (plan i). Martyrdom of S. Lawrence. This fresco is badly damaged. The figure of the saint is only seen in outline ; Decius looks on from a balcony.

The traditional site of the martyrdom is shown at the Church of S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, near S.M. Maggiore. The stone on which the fire was lighted is at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura. The gridiron is preserved at S. Lorenzo in Lucina. The ashes of S. Lawrence rest in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura.

Attention has frequently been drawn to the setting of these pictures, and to the use of Renaissance design. Such things, however, are hardly organic. The terrace

on which Decius sits may serve to recall a scene in the Medici gardens, the delicate scroll-work on the pilasters of the door in the "Almsgiving" may interest us as anticipating the carving on the portal of S. Agostino, but in truth naïve records of lives consecrated by love and sacrifice such as these are independent of artifice. The purity of colour, the simplicity of line, the unsought grace, reflect a nature harmonized by a sense of the direct relation between God and man. The pictures are too exact in intention to depend on the style of architecture chosen for the scene of the drama.

The details of these frescoes show that Fra Angelico knew that his contemporaries were painting in a style entirely different from the later disciples of Giotto. It is also clear that the classical style of some of the churches in Rome had its influence upon him. Nevertheless, it seems impossible to place Fra Angelico with Masaccio, the greatest master of the new style, or with Agnolo Gaddi and Spinello Aretino, the latest of the great Giotteschi. His character was based essentially on the contemplative habit, the passion of existence for him was centred in the next life. His artistic method was the result of his detachment from terrestrial things, and it is difficult to point to any other art of his time that rested on a similar basis. In so far as he felt the new influences which surrounded him, they appear to have affected the accidental rather than the intrinsic quality of his art. (The frescoes have been recently discussed in a scholarly monograph, "Fra Angelico," by Dr. Langton Douglas.)

THE BORGIA APARTMENTS

The Borgia apartments are immediately below the suite of rooms known as the Stanze of Raphael. They form part of the Vatican palace, which was built during the middle and latter part of the fifteenth century.

The printed books of the Vatican library were stored here until Pope Leo XIII had the rooms cleared. Since the accession of Pope Pius X they have been occupied

by the Cardinal Secretary of State, from whom permission to visit them must be obtained. The door leading into the rooms is at the corner of the first storey of the loggia which surrounds the Cortile di San Damaso. This loggia, which is below that of Raphael, was decorated by *Giovanni da Udine*; it is noteworthy as a good example of the style used in the early part of the sixteenth century.

The Borgia rooms are six in number :—

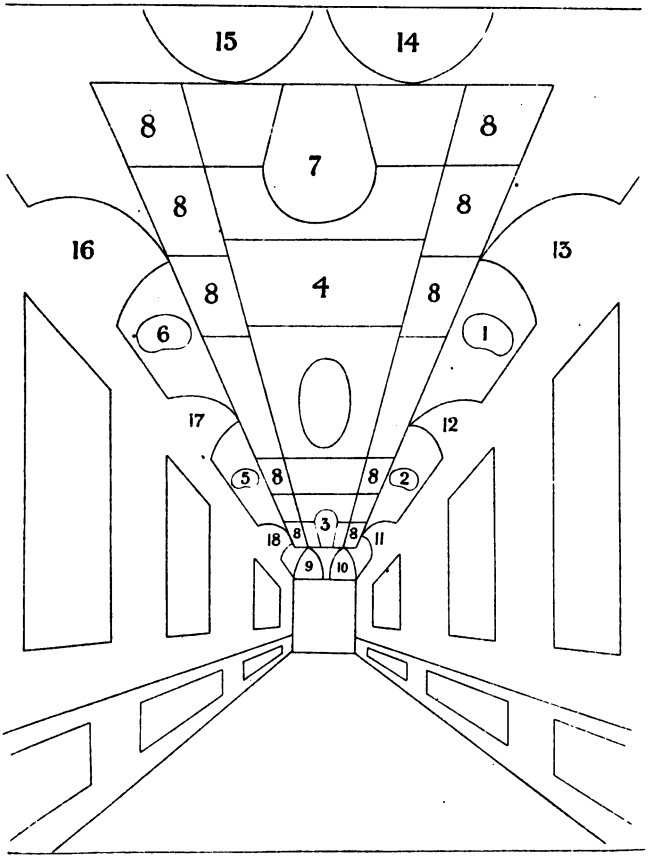
I. The Hall of the Popes.
II. The Hall of the Mysteries.
III. The Hall of the Saints.
IV. The Hall of the Liberal Arts.
V. The Hall of the Creed.
VI. The Hall of the Sibyls.

The decoration of these rooms was given to *Pinturicchio*: the actual execution was due to a number of different artists, working from 1492 and onwards. The most characteristic part of the work, as it exists to-day, is in the halls of the "Mysteries," of the "Saints," and of the "Liberal Arts." The paintings in these rooms cannot be compared with those in the Stanze of Raphael—far less with the frescoes of the Sistine. And yet none of these famous places, nor, indeed, any other in Rome, excel the Borgia apartments in decorative effect. It is true that there is little of the imaginative beauty of the best of Raphael's work, and there is nothing of the inspired vision and titanic force of Michael Angelo. The "Mysteries" reveal no depth of religious feeling. In the lives of the saints it is comparatively trivial anecdote, and not the spiritual life, which concerns the painter. The liberal arts are painted as a guide to the life of the perfect courtier, and not as steps in the long ascent by which man may reach the heights of the contemplative life; nor does a perception of classical beauty exert any great influence. It is the spirit of the Umbrian School which informs the decoration. A sense of gracious and delicate landscape, a lively pleasure in gaiety of colour, sympathy with the gallantry of princely

courts, a gentle and somewhat fantastic romanticism, and charming simplicity are harmonized by refined sentiment. There is a decorous recognition of what is due to the conventions of religious feeling; there is a liking for the easy-going and superficial aspect of things; there is a love of splendour and gaiety, and over all a genial and cheerful optimism. The naïve and barbarous family pride of the Borgias has been soothed without seriously spoiling the general effect, and the whole scheme of decoration is not only successful, it is one of the last efforts of the genial Italian spirit before it was quenched by the clash of warring sects and the formal tyranny of Spain.

The roof of the **Hall of the Popes** was painted by *Giovanni da Udine* (1487–1564) and *Pierino del Vaga* (1499–1547) in the time of Leo X, whose arms appear at each of the four corners of the vaulting. The design is one of those allegories that are common in the fifteenth century. There are seven figures, symbolical of the planets: Diana (1, plan ii), drawn by nymphs; Mercury (2, plan ii), drawn by cocks; Venus (3), drawn by doves; Apollo (4), in his quadriga; Mars (5), drawn by horses (?); Jupiter (6), drawn by eagles; Saturn (7), drawn by serpents. They are figures of the celestial powers who move the planets and through whom the idea in the mind of God was transmitted to mankind and was stamped upon creation. The signs of the Zodiac (marked 8 on plan ii), which form another important element in the design, symbolized the progress of the sun through its appointed course. The passing of the fruitful summer into the decay of autumn, the death of winter and the resurrection of spring, were regarded as a figure of human destiny. The niches in the circling of the roof are each inscribed with the name and deeds of a Pope. (9, plan ii) Stephen II (752–6) is noted as the bishop whose horse was led by King Pippin; (10) Adrian I is commemorated as he who overthrew the kingdom of the Lombards; (11) Leo III (795–816) appears as the bestower of the imperial crown on Charles

the Great; (12) Sergius II (844–7) is noted as the first Pope to take an official name instead of his own; (13)



Plan II. Hall of the Popes.

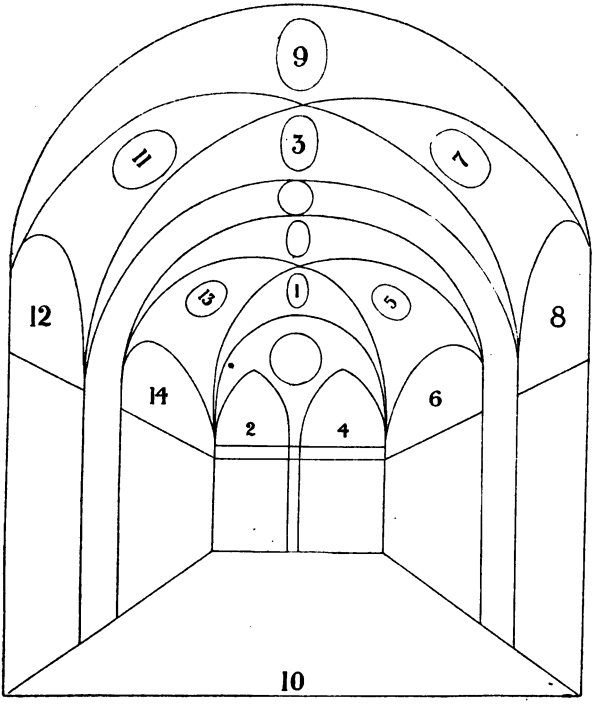
the services of Leo IV (847–55) in building the walls around the Leonine city are commemorated; (14) Urban II (1087–99) appears as the preacher of the first

Crusade; (15) Nicholas III (1277–81), of the Orsini family, was notable for his gravity and the austerity of his manner; (16) Gregory XI (1370–8) brought the Curia back to Rome; (17) Boniface IX (1389–1404) firmly established the papal power over the city of Rome, and fortified the castle of S. Angelo; (18) The election of Martin V (1417–31), a Colonna, was the first step taken towards the healing of the great schism. The essential spirit of the Renaissance Papacy is reflected in an interesting way by the choice of those whom it is desired to honour.

The Hall of the Mysteries is the most beautiful of the rooms. There is no intensity of feeling, nor is there any dramatic power in the frescoes which announce the Incarnation and Resurrection. None of the scenes of the Passion involving deep pathos or violent emotion are included. Yet we are in an enchanted land, in an earthly Paradise; the luminous air is filled with sweet melody; the foliage gleams with the reflection of a golden light from heaven. Everywhere there is a chastened serenity, an unruffled calm in which passive reverie grows into tender sentiment.

The frescoes on the roof and walls form a single design. (1, on the roof) Malachi prophesies the Annunciation; (2) "Ecce ego mittam angelum meum, et orietur vobis timentibus nomen meum" (Malachi III. 1, and IV. 2); (3) Jeremiah prophesies of the Nativity; (4) "Ecce parvulum dedi te in gentibus" (Jeremiah XLIX. 15); (5) David foresees the Adoration of the Magi; (6) "Adorabunt eum omnes reges terræ" (Psalm LXXI. 11; LXXII., Authorized Version); (7) Zephaniah prophesies of the Resurrection; (8) "Expecta in die resurrectionis meae in futurum" (Zephaniah III. 8); (9) Micah foretells the Ascension, "Ascendet pandens iter ante eos" (Micah II. 13); (11) Joel announces the Descent of the Holy Spirit, "Effundam spiritum meum super omnem carnem" (Joel II. 28); (13) Solomon prophesies of the Assumption of the Virgin, "Quasi cedrus exaltata sum in Libano (Ecc. XXIV. 17).

The frescoes on the side walls are as follows :—
(2) Annunciation ; (4) Nativity ; (6) Adoration of the Magi ; (8) Resurrection ; (10) Ascension of Christ (over the window) ; (12) Descent of the Holy Spirit ; (14) Ascension of the Virgin.



Plan iii. Hall of the Mysteries.

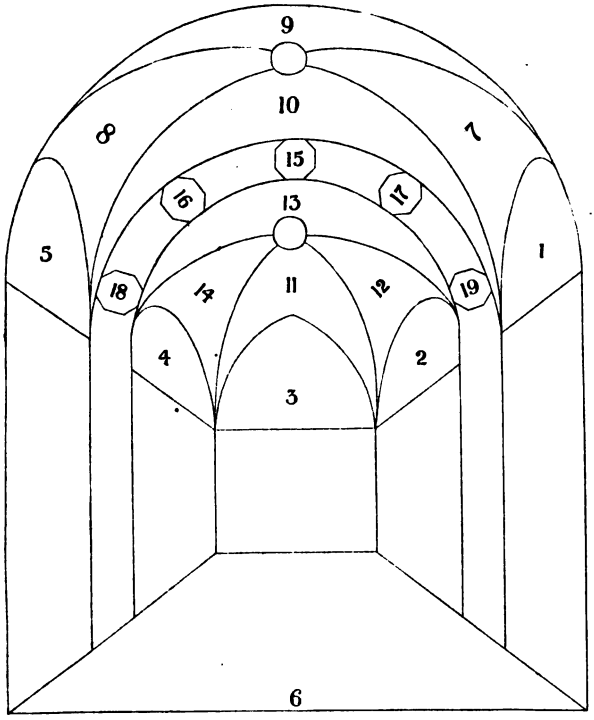
In these charming pictures there is an air of romantic fancy ; it may be expressed only by the pot of roses that stands between Gabriel and Madonna (2), or the lovely landscape of the Nativity (4), or the careless and confident air of the young king who holds his offering so daintily between finger and thumb (6), or the gallant

young princes who have so idly guarded the tomb (8), or the great palm tree of the Descent of the Spirit (12), or the roses and lilies that spring from the grave in the Assumption (14).

There are, however, two figures that strike quite a different note: the one represents Alexander VI, who kneels before the tomb from which Christ has arisen, the other is the portrait of an unidentified Italian, who kneels at the tomb from which Madonna rises into heaven. The face of this Italian is repellent and full of an unsympathetic obstinacy that might pass for force of character. The uncompromising realism and the stern simplicity of the figure cannot fail to raise our estimate of *Pinturicchio*, who is supposed to have painted it. The portrait of the Pope is characterized by the same directness; there is an unsparing fidelity such as few sitters would care to exact; and yet how can this kindly and unimpressive face represent one who is supposed to have allowed no distinction between evil and good to stand between his will and its realization? It is true that there is no elevation, that it is indeed the face of a pleasure-loving sensualist, but we hardly realize the character of a man who has few equals in the record of vice and crime. The youth in a coat of mail, who kneels with a halberd in his hand at the opposite end of the tomb to the Pope, has been supposed to represent Cesare Borgia.

On the walls of the **Hall of the Saints** there are painted the acts of various saints. (1, plan iv) The Salutation; (2) The meeting of SS. Paul and Anthony; (3) S. Catherine before the Emperor; (4) The Story of S. Barbara; (5) The Story of Susannah; (6) The Martyrdom of S. Sebastian. The scenes are not painted for edification; it would be hardly possible that the faith of any should be strengthened or that the bonds of love should become more powerful by reason of these pictures. They represent traditional scenes known to every one, and in their origin having the closest connexion with the spiritual life of the Christian Church. In the

fifteenth century they had become pleasant stories, exactly suited to decorative purpose, needing no explanation, and making little demand either on the intellect or the feelings of the beholders. These pictures



Plan iv. Hall of the Saints.

do not, however, call up the same sense of placid sentiment as those in the Hall of the Mysteries. There is the bustle of a little drama in most of them. In the Salutation (1) the meeting of the two women takes place at the house of Elizabeth, and within there is a busy scene of her maidens at work while Zacharias reads to them.

Another well-known story is that of the meeting of SS. Paul and Anthony (2). Both had become hermits so that they might avoid the contamination of the world. In his old age S. Anthony thought of himself as the greatest of hermits until it was revealed to him that S. Paul was greater than he. A long journey across the desert brought him to the cell of S. Paul, who with doubt opened his door to him. After embracing, they talked of the progress of the faith and of the state of the world. A raven brought bread for them, and in the pride of their humility neither would break it first, so their contention ended in breaking the loaf between them. To the spectator's right stand SS. Macarius and Amatus; to the left the temptations of the world are symbolized by three beautiful women, whose true character is shown by bats' wings, clawed feet, and goats' horns. S. Paul is clothed in the traditional coat, made of palm leaves.

Fresco **No. 4** describes the story of S. Barbara. Dioscorus, her father, built a tower for her safe-keeping; in his absence she caused the workmen to make three windows instead of two, and when she confessed that she desired three as a symbol of the Trinity her father in his anger would have slain her. She escaped, however, through a crack in the wall which was miraculously opened, and was hidden from him. A shepherd, who was turned into a marble column for his treachery, betrayed her hiding-place. She was delivered to the judge, by whom she was tortured, and finally she suffered martyrdom at the hands of her father.

In the fresco **5**, on plan iv, the story of Susannah is told. A large fountain forms the centre-piece of the picture. The elders have seized Susannah, and are threatening her. They accuse her before the people, and on their testimony she is condemned. In the background to the left she is carried away by soldiers, when suddenly Daniel appears on a white horse. Susannah prays to God for help, and the truth is revealed to Daniel. He confounds the elders, who each tell a different story, and so Susannah is saved. In the back-

ground to the right the elders are bound to a tree and beaten.

Above the window there is a large fresco of the martyrdom of S. Sebastian (6). To the right sits the Emperor Diocletian urging on the bowmen who shoot at the saint; in the sky an angel gives encouragement to the young soldier. The scene is supposed to have taken place on the Palatine, where the small chapel of S. Sebastian still marks the traditional spot. The ruins of the Colosseum and the distant view of the Alban Hills are evidently intended to recall the situation, although the landscape in the foreground is hardly that of the Palatine as we know it.

The fresco which will principally hold the visitor's attention represents the scene between S. Catherine and the Emperor (**No. 3** on the plan).

The court of Maxentius is gathered at the foot of a magnificent triumphal arch, modelled on that of Constantine. At the sides of the throne there are two young men of striking aspect. The one in a turban is supposed to be Djem, the son of Mohammed II (the conqueror of Constantinople), and the brother of Bajazet II (1481–1512). As a possible rival to the throne Djem was handed over to the keeping of Innocent VIII, and a handsome pension was attached to his safe custody. The other prince, to the spectator's left of the throne, is said to be Andrew Paleologus. He was the son of Thomas, Despot of the Morea, who took refuge at Rome when driven out by the Turks. Andrew was the nephew and heir of the Emperor Constantine XIII, who was killed at the taking of Constantinople. Many competent critics have refused to accept these identifications.

It has been said that S. Catherine is a portrait of Lucrezia Borgia, but this is not generally credited. The fresco represents the story at the point where Catherine, having reasoned with the Emperor, has so overcome him that he has sent for the grammarians and rhetoricians. They stand in a group to the right. Some discuss between themselves, others read in their books, some watch the disputation, and one dignified

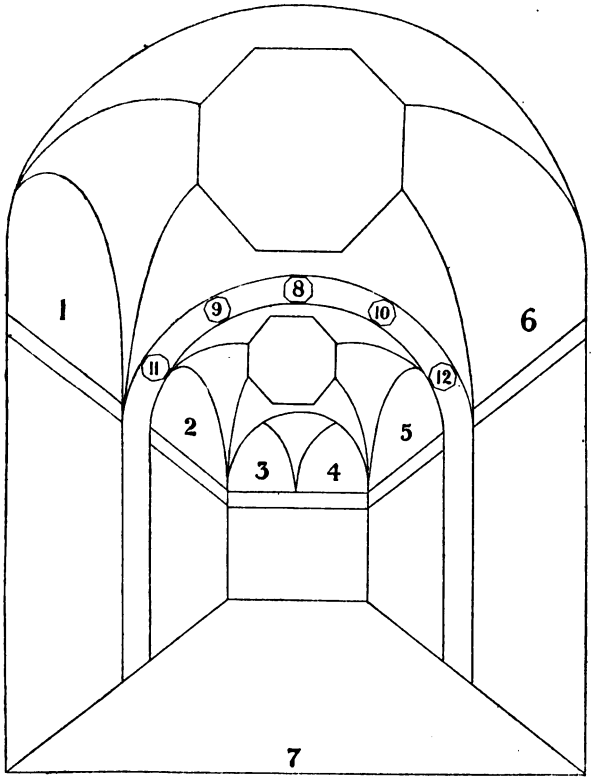
figure in a yellow robe points to a page held open before him by a kneeling youth. It is a scene of radiant gaiety such as we may suppose was common in the court of many an Italian prince of the time. Every accessory—the crown and robe of Catherine, the gorgeous tunic of Prince Djem, the magnificent mantle of the Paleologus heir, the fierce Turk mounted and armed with Oriental splendour, the crowd of youths behind the throne, and the grave and reverend figures of the philosophers, illustrate the brilliant and dazzling pageant. It may be that there is a want of harmony and of reticence in all this pomp, and yet the Umbrian habit saves it from falling into mere vulgar ostentation.

In the groining of the roof the legend of Isis and Osiris is painted. The earlier scenes show the beginning of civilization, and how the fertility of the earth was made useful to mankind by means of ploughing (7), fruit-growing (8), and cultivation by pruning (9). All these labours are carried on under the influence of Isis, the goddess of the food-producing earth. Isis is married to Osiris (10), the god of the Nile, and, therefore, in Egypt, the god of fertility. Osiris is slain (11) by his brother Typhon, representing the sterile principle and in a wider sense the spirit of evil. The parts of the body of Osiris are gathered together (12), and the funeral rites are performed (13). Finally the soul of Osiris, having passed into the bull, is worshipped as Apis (14).

On the arch separating the two bays of the room there is painted the story of Jupiter and Io. Zeus falls in love with Io (15). Io is changed into a white cow by Zeus. Hera demands the white cow from Zeus (16). Hera gives the cow into the keeping of Argus (17). Hermes is sent by Zeus to deliver the cow, and lulls Argus to sleep with his pipes (18). Hermes slays Argus (19). There is a difference of opinion about the detail of the explanation of these little pictures on the arch.

The **Hall of the Liberal Arts** has seven frescoes, each illustrating in the person of a charming Umbrian

damsel one of the divisions of knowledge. (1) Grammar; (2) Dialectic; (3) Rhetoric; (4) Geometry; (5) Arithmetic; (6) Music; (7) Astronomy or Astrology. On



Plan v. Hall of the Liberal Arts.

the underside of the arch separating the two bays there is a figure (8) of Justice, with examples of its influence on the lives of men. (9) Three angels appear to Abraham; (10) Trajan does justice to the widow; (11) two merchants take the oath of fair dealing before a

figure of Justice with sword and scales; (12) Justice distributes rewards. Critics are not in full agreement about the meaning of these small pictures.

Arithmetic is the most graceful of the Seven Arts. She holds her court amidst kings wearing their crowns, groups of youths in gold chains, keen-visaged students and ancients with long beards. The picture of Dialectic is evidently by the hand of some incompetent assistant, and between these two there are examples by various painters, showing a good deal of difference in merit.

In the Camera della Segnatura Raphael has embodied in one vast philosophical conception knowledge, virtue, philosophy, and religion. In this room there is no such far-reaching theme. The painter, it is true, has designed the scheme of knowledge according to the idea of the time, and he has coupled with it justice as a synthesis of the cardinal virtues; but his object is not to illustrate the ultimate goal of man; it is rather to show how he may best live this present life. The high-minded scholar of the revival set before himself an ideal of existence, free, temperate, courteous, and gracious; he believed that he could realize it by the way of knowledge and virtue, while the ignorant man must remain a slave. Large and noble life, self-dependent and yet social, could not be lived by rule of thumb. Without the arts of knowledge and virtue life could not be developed as an artistic whole. Literature, philosophy, music, and poetry formed the atmosphere of perfection.

Castiglione, in his "Book of the Courtier," says that a man must know how to speak so that his words should be like a delicious garden full of flowers—true glory is stored up in the holy treasure of letters—the mind is revived by music, while skill in drawing and painting opens the understanding to the influences of beauty and to proportion in things.

Noble thought expressed in noble language is the foundation of a noble society. From this point of view grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric form a training for the good citizen; geometry deals with the science of proportion; arithmetic is necessary for the understanding

in both these rooms. By some, the work has been attributed to *Piero d'Andrea* of Volterra, and by others to *Piero Matteo* of Amelia. The evidence of the pictures themselves would suggest that more than one artist was concerned.

In the hall of the Creed each lunette has the figure of an apostle and prophet—the one utters the verse of the symbol with which he has become traditionally connected; from the writings of the other there is quoted some apposite passage.

In the hall of the Sibyls the analogy between the visions of Prophets and Sibyls is emphasized. The inscriptions have been damaged, and in some cases destroyed. In the following lists the reconstructions suggested by Monsig. Barbier de Montault have been used.

(1, **plan vi**) S. Peter: Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem creatorem cæli et terræ. Prophet: Patrem invocabimus qui terram fecit et condidit cælos.

(2, plan vi) S. John: Et in Jesum X.P.M. filium eius unicum dominum nostrum. David: Dominus Die filius.

(3, plan vi) S. Andrew: Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine. Isaiah VII. 14: Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium.

(4, plan vi) S. James-the-Great: Passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus mortuus et sepultus. Zachariah (founded on XII. 10): Aspicient in me Deum suum quem confixerunt.

(5, plan vi) S. Matthew: Descendit ad inferos tertia die resurrexit a mortuis. Hosea XIII. 14: Ero mors tua, o mors! morsus tuus ero, inferne!

(6, **plan vii**) S. James-the-Less: Ascendit at cælos sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis. Amos IX. 6: Ædificat ascensionem suam in cælo.

(7, plan vii) S. Philip: Inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos. Malachi III. 5: Ascendam at vos in judicio et ero testis velox.

(8, plan vii) S. Bartholomew: Credo in spiritum santum. Joel III. 1: Effundam spiritum meum super omnem carnem.

(9, plan vii) S. Thomas: Santam ecclesiam, santorum

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(11) The name Amos appears on the scroll: the inscription is founded on Haggai II. 7: Ecce veniet at vos desideratus cunctis gentibus. Sibyl of Europa. Veniet ille et transibit montes et colles et regnabit in paupertate et dominabitur in silencium.

(12) (?) Patrem invocabis qui terram fecit et cælos condidit. Sibyl of Agrippa. Invisibile verbum germinabit ut radix et non apparebit venustas circumdabitur alvus materna. On the roof there is a very elaborate scheme of decoration based on the planets and their influence on mankind, although the connexion is not always obviously pertinent.

(13) The Symbol of the Moon is drawn by Dolphins. Below there is a group of men fishing.

(14) Mercury is drawn by stags. Below men read and draw with compasses.

(15) Venus drawn by bulls. Beneath men and women are in lively social intercourse.

(16) Apollo drives a quadriga. Below the Pope sits, surrounded by his court. The sun, as the life and soul of the whole world, and the principal governor of nature, is the symbol of the Pope, who represents the highest power on earth.

(17) Mars. Men armed and preparing for war. Women plead with them.

(18) Jove drawn by eagles. The group below is engaged in hawking.

(19) Saturn drawn by serpents. Below is pictured the Golden Age. Men work in the fields, others visit prisoners and help the unfortunate.

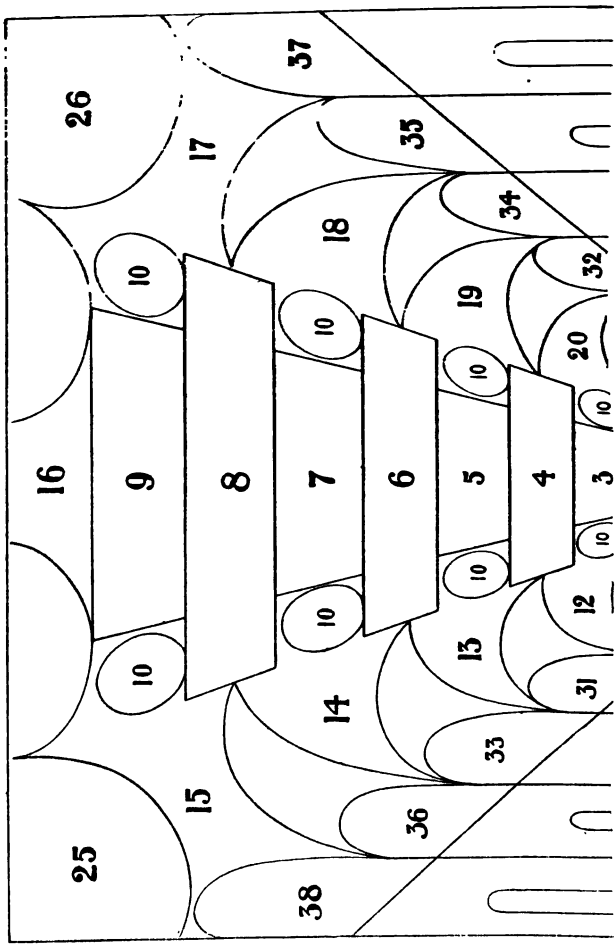
(20) In the upper part of the picture there is a sphere of the heavens; below a number of learned men carry on a discussion.

The Sistine Chapel

The Sistine Chapel derives its name from Pope Sixtus IV, for whom it was built about the year 1473. Its architectural features are of the simplest. The design provides great wall spaces for fresco painting,

but there is no attempt to give dignity by means of architectural skill. It is probable that the work was done by *Giovanni di Dolci*. In 1482 Pope Sixtus ordered a number of Florentine and Umbrian masters to paint the pictures on the side walls (69–80 on the plan). In 1508 Pope Julius II ordered *Michael Angelo* to paint frescoes on the roof (1–38 on the plan). In 1514 Pope Leo X commissioned *Raphael* to make designs for tapestries to decorate the walls below the paintings of 1482–3. These tapestries were made by Flemish workmen, and they were finished in 1520. In 1534 Pope Clement VII, shortly before his death, ordered Michael Angelo to paint the Last Judgment (83 on the plan). The work was continued under Pope Paul III, and was finished in 1541. These designs for the decoration of the chapel were never seen as a completed whole, for the tapestries were removed at the sack of Rome in 1527.

We begin the description with the frescoes on the roof. (1) The division of light from darkness; (2) Creation of the sun and moon; (3) The blessing of the work of creation, probably as it existed at the close of the fifth day; (4) God gives the living soul to the clay of Adam; (5) Creation of Eve; (6) Fall of Adam and Eve, and the expulsion from Paradise; (7) Sacrifice of Noah; (8) The Deluge; (9) The Sleep of Noah; (10) At the corners of the smaller frescoes 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 there are figures, twenty in number, known as the Adolescents or Athletes. These youths, symbols of human force and vitality, are among the most striking examples of Michael Angelo's art. They illustrate his control over the human figure, not only as a means of expressing thought and emotion, but as the supreme element in satisfying the senses by its splendid distinction. Round this Magnificat of the Old Testament are arranged the Prophets and Sibyls. To the left (11) Jeremiah; (12) Persican Sibyl; (13) Ezekiel; (14) Erythrean Sibyl; (15) Joel; (16) (on the end wall) Zacharias. Returning on the right (17) Delphic Sibyl; (18) Isaiah; (19) Cumæan Sibyl; (20) Daniel; (21) Lybican Sibyl; and 22) (above the Judgment) Jonah. At the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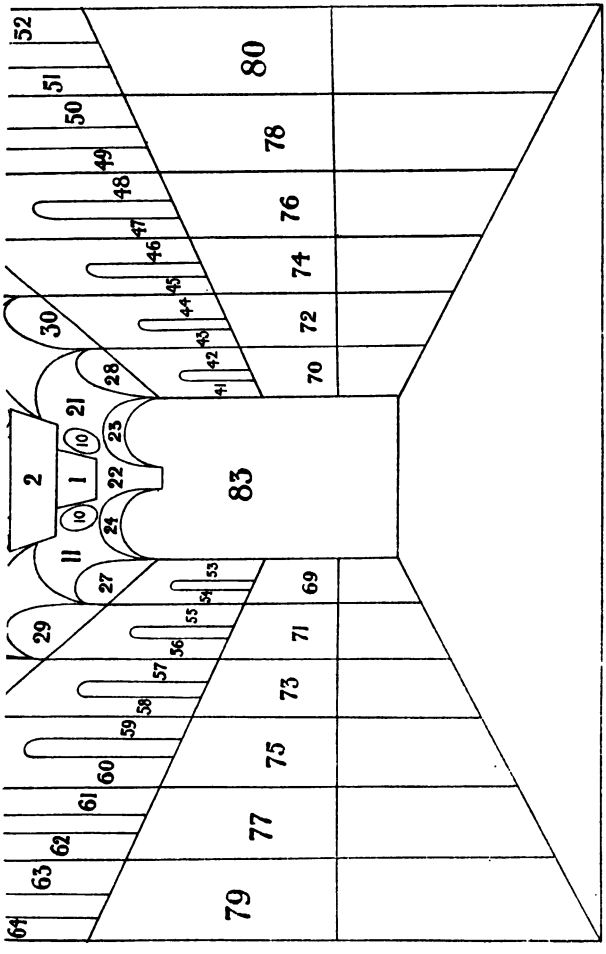


Plan x. Sistine Chapel.

four corners of the building are frescoes describing special deliverances of the chosen people. (**23**) The brazen serpent; (**24**) The death of Haman; (**25**) David kills Goliath; (**26**) Judith kills Holofernes. In the lunettes over the windows are the human ancestors of Christ, Matthew 1. 4-16. If the visitor faces the "Last Judgment" he will have **27** (left) Aminadab; **28** (right) Naason; **29** (left) Salmon, Booz, Obeth; **30** (right) Jesse, David, Solomon; **31** (left) Rehoboam, Abias; **32** (right) Asa, Josaphat, Joram; **33** (left) Ozias, Joatham, Achaz; **34** (right) Ezechias, Manasses, Amon; **35** (right) Josias, Jechonias, Salathiel; **36** left) Zorobabel, Abiud, Eliachim; **37** (right) Azor, Zadoch; **38** (left) Achim, Eliud; **39** (on end wall) Eleazer, Matham; **40** (on end wall) Jacob, Joseph.

In the spaces above these lunettes there are a number of groups of father, mother, and child, or a woman with children, or some design suggestive of family life, which have been interpreted in various ways.

On the upper part of the side walls of the chapel there is a long line of Popes. Probably in the original plan the two first bishops, SS. Peter and Linus, were painted on the end wall, now occupied by the "Last Judgment." They do not now appear, and the series begins with the third bishop. Many of the dates, and in some cases the succession, are matters of controversy.

TO THE RIGHT	A.D.	TO THE LEFT	A.D.
(41) Anicletus	80	(53) Clement	92
(42) Alexander	109	(54) Evaristus	100
(43) Telephorus	128	(55) Sixtus I	119
(44) Pius	142	(56) Hyginus	138
(45) Soter	168	(57) Anicetus	157
(46) Victor	189	(58) (?)	
(47) Calixtus	218	(59) Zephyrinus	201
(48) Pontianus	231	(60) Urban	223
(49) Fabianus	236 or 238	(61) Anteros	235 or 238
(50) Lucius	252	(62) Cornelius	250
(51) Sixtus II	255 or 257	(63) Stephen	254
(52) Felix	270	(64) Dionysius	259

On the end wall (65) Euytichianus, A.D. 275; (66) Marcellus, A.D. 308; (67) Marcellinus, A.D. 296; (68) Caius, A.D. 283.

Beneath the range of Popes there are the pictures ordered by Pope Sixtus IV in 1482.

(69) Journey of Moses, and Circumcision, *Pinturicchio;* (70) Baptism of Christ, *Pinturicchio;* (71) Moses kills the Egyptian, the Manifestation in the Burning Bush, *Botticelli;* (72) Temptation of Christ, and the Cleansing of the Leper, *Botticelli;* (73) Destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, *Piero di Cosimo;* (74) Calling of the Apostles, *Domenico Ghirlandajo;* (75) Moses brings the Tables of the Law down from the Mountain, *Cosimo Rosselli;* (76) Sermon on the Mount, *Cosimo Rosselli;* (77) Punishment of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, *Botticelli;* (78) Christ gives the Keys to Peter, *Perugino;* (79) Moses gives the Law to the people and dies, perhaps *Luca Signorelli;* (80) Last Supper, *Cosimo Rosselli;* (81) Translation of Moses, on the end wall; (82) Rèsurrection, on the end wall. The two last pictures belong to the close of the sixteenth century. The contract for the pictures 69 to 80 has often been quoted, and it will probably appear strange that work by well-known men painted so late as the end of the fifteenth century should have led to controversy as to authorship; such, however, is the case. The principal artists were Botticelli, Ghirlandajo, Rosselli, and Perugino; besides these assistants were employed, of which Fra Diamante, Pinturicchio, and Piero di Cosimo are well known. Luca Signorelli, a man older than any of the group except Rosselli, has also been connected with the work. The share which the assistants had in the pictures attributed to the various masters has never been authoritatively determined.

The frescoes of Michael Angelo. We are struck as we enter the Sistine Chapel by the quality of the genius of Michael Angelo, by its intensity, by its aloofness, and by its disregard of those conventions through which artists usually try to reach their fellow-men. Isolated

by the elevation of his own mind, he appeals to a similar range of thought and feeling in the minds of others. His creation is the triumph of the human form. He interposes no artifice between the human and the divine, there is no veil. Adam (**No. 4** on the plan) is neither king nor priest; mankind stands in virtue of its humanity in the holy of holies.

A passage from Wordsworth fitly expresses the emotion that is aroused by the Sistine paintings:—

> There I beheld the emblem of a mind
> That feeds upon infinity, that broods
> Over the dark abyss, intent to hear
> Its voices issuing forth to silent light
> In one continuous stream; a mind sustained
> By recognitions of transcendent power,
> In sense conducting to ideal form,
> In soul of more than mortal privilege.

Never, at least in Christian art, has the coil of human destiny been unfolded with such power. The tragedy of knowledge, the forfeiture of Paradise as if by a decree of inexorable fate, human presumption chastised in the flood of waters, the expectancy of all living things foreseen by Prophets and Sibyls, and the final unveiling of the Judgment, such are the scenes of the mighty drama. Little or nothing of the beauty of earth or sky is to be found; the life which is less than that of man's has no place. The mystery of Creation, the pathos of human life, the light of unquenchable hope, the final resolution of all things, are expressed in terms of the human form.

No artist has impressed men with such a sense of the appalling power of brain and hand. It is the labour of a man ill at ease with himself and with his time; he paints like one who is haunted by a prophetic vision of the downfall of his native city, and the destruction of Italy.

Michael Angelo sees as the prophet rather than as the apostle. His are the warnings of the Old Testament rather than the message of the New. He makes no appeal by scenes of tenderness and love, such as the Nativity and the Visitation. The passage of the human

soul from chaos to judgment is a hard and solitary way. There is hope alone to guide, and it is this spirit of hope that makes the Prophets and Sibyls vibrate with life and energy. The great and strong wind had rent the mountains, the earthquake had shaken the world, but as yet there was no open vision. These mighty creations are moved by mysterious power, that does not reveal itself. They look anxiously into futurity, so that they may see the light which is to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of the people of Israel. The human ancestors painted in the lunettes (27 to 38 on the plan) were the kings and leaders who directed the national life of the Hebrews, the history of which people was declared to be one great prophecy corresponding in grandeur to Him of whom it prophesied. As these leaders and rulers formed the ancestry according to the "kindreds of the people," so the line of Hebrew prophets were regarded as the spiritual forerunners. This combined ancestry was a figure of the perfection of law and prophecy, a perfection fulfilled in Christ, a fulfilment from which sprang the Church drawn from all nations. The spirit of hope which animated these Lawgivers and Prophets was the birthright of the world. As light had been divided from darkness (1 on the plan), and as the sun had been set to rule the day, and the moon to rule the night (2 on the plan), so man's knowledge of good and evil should be rightly resolved in the light of the divine countenance. Hope was never absent, even in the darkest days of the tragedy of knowledge (6 on the plan), and in the disorder which followed. There was safety in the ark (8 on the plan), a symbol of the Church in which succeeding generations were preserved from the storms of this present life. So also in the sleep of Noah (9 on the plan) men saw a foreshadowing of the sleep of Christ on the cross. Ham was a figure of the Jews who mocked, Shem and Japhet were the faithful sons of the Latin Church.

The scenes at the four corners of the roof represent the triumph of faith in the salvation wrought through the Brazen Serpent, the triumph of the Lord's anointed

in the victory of David, and the triumph of the spirit of self-sacrifice in Esther and Judith over the powers of this world.

Men saw how God had protected His chosen people, and these histories were a figure of how He would protect His Church from the enemies that surrounded her, and how He would punish those princes that said in their hearts, "The Lord will not do good, neither will He do evil."

The painting of the roof was finished in 1512, and twenty-two years later Clement VII commissioned *Michael Angelo* to paint the "**Last Judgment**" on the wall above the altar. He was about sixty years old at the time, and excuses have been made for supposed shortcomings on account of his age. As, however, he was entrusted with the building of S. Peter's, when he was more than seventy years old, there is no need to doubt his capacity at the time he was ordered to paint the Judgment. The prevailing colour of the human forms in the picture is an earthy brown; the background is a rather harsh and cold blue. The drama is unrelieved by any accessories. The picture divides itself into a number of separate points of interest, finding their unity in the figure of Christ. Christ is seated in the upper part of the fresco in the act of condemnation. At His side is Madonna (no longer the Mediatrix), and about Him are the apostles. S. Peter carries the keys, S. Andrew has his cross, S. Bartholomew shows the knife and the mask of his own skin. In the outer ranks of this central group are the confessors and martyrs. S. Lawrence bears the gridiron on which he suffered, S. Catherine has her wheel, S. Sebastian shows a sheaf of arrows, others have carding combs, a saw, or crosses.

To the spectator's left at the foot of the picture the resurrection is painted; above this the blessed are received by angels. To the spectator's right the damned pass to their lot. They have chosen chaos in preference to order, and now they find it. Yet even in chaos there is some order, for to each is allotted the place where his final existence will be the complement of his earthly

life. At the top of the picture angels bear the instruments of the Passion, symbols of the justice and mercy which the sinners have refused to accept. To the right is the column of the flagellation and the ladder, to the left the cross and the crown of thorns.

Every figure in the composition is in motion or effort. There is neither peace among the blessed nor bitter resignation among the damned, such as Orcagna painted. There is no detail of punishment, such as Fra Angelico conceived. But "Heaven is red with anger," it is the final resolution of good and evil, time is passing into eternity, and the shock is visible in every frame. Here there is no place for grace of form, nor for charm of colour; in the presence of the Divine wrath nature is shaken to her foundations. The first impression may be that of wonder, of horror, of revolt at this or that, but the abiding effect of the whole becomes impressive to an extraordinary degree. The gigantic limbs, the writhing forms, the rhetorical gesture, the sadness of colour, the exaggeration of passion, all have their place in this terrible unveiling.

The paintings on the side walls of the chapel are the work of a large number of Florentine and Umbrian masters, with their assistants, who were employed by Sixtus IV in the years 1482 and 1483.

The dates assigned between the autumn of 1482 and August, 1483, leave a short time for the execution of so much work, and this may explain why few of the frescoes are as fine as other paintings by the same hands. Although the greater number of the artists employed did not paint their masterpieces in the Sistine, the frescoes as we have them are the most important of the later fifteenth century, and they form an invaluable record of the Florentine and Umbrian art of the Quattrocento.

The method is entirely different from that of *Michael Angelo*: every artifice is used to interest the spectator. The scenes are set among beautiful trees and in picturesque landscapes which fade away into lovely distances

of hills and valleys and lakes. Stately architecture, palaces, churches, and castles, suggest the harmonies of a refined and civilized existence ; the varied costumes of the vast crowds, the keen eye for the portrayal of character, the constantly changing drama which passes before us, the spaciousness and the grace of the whole, make for us a magnificent pageant of the life of the Italian Renaissance.

The literal facts set out on the left side of the chapel are events in the history of Moses, those on the right, events in the life of Christ ; but the keen Italian intellect could not be satisfied with an obvious and literal statement, and each picture was made to bear several interpretations. Thus, from one point of view there is an application to the politics and history of the time, and from another there is the apposition of life under the Law, and life under Grace. The shadow of the Old Testament becomes the realized gift of the New, the history of Moses is a type of the life of Christ.

Let us take a single fresco as an illustration. *Piero di Cosimo* has painted the salvation of the Israelites at the Red Sea. It is an allegory reminding the men of the day how the Papal Captain Robert of Malatesta had beaten Alfonso of Naples, Duke of Calabria, at the battle of Campo Morto in 1482. Pharaoh is painted as the Prince of Naples, the victor Robert is the mail-clad warrior standing near Moses. Besides this political allusion there is in addition the moral significance, in which the safe passage through the Red Sea was regarded as a figure of Baptism, whereby the Christian was saved from his sins, even as the Israelites had escaped from the Egyptians. And again, there is the relation between the old and new dispensations. Moses (Ex. IX. 18) gave to Pharaoh the message, " Behold, I raised thee up to show in thee My power, and that My name may be declared throughout all the earth." In the picture opposite, representing the Calling of the Apostles, the fulfilment of this prophecy is found in the declaration of Christ (Matt. XXIV.) that the gospel shall be preached to all nations, and in the commission

given to the apostles (Matt. XXVIII.), "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations."

. Thanks to the patience and acuteness of Ernst Steinmann, many of the allusions hidden behind the literal incidents in these paintings have been explained; he has shown, for instance, how the misfortunes of a certain Archbishop of Krain, who had attacked Sixtus IV, find their counterpart in the punishment of the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (77).

There can be little doubt, however, that the main object of the frescoes was to impress upon men the true relation between the old and the new dispensations. As God had cared for His people in Egypt and in the wilderness, and as He gave them a land flowing with milk and honey, so in the coming of Christ and in the establishment of His Church there is a promise of salvation and the hope of a celestial kingdom.

The two pictures which begin the series are to the right and left of the "Last Judgment," and are attributed to *Pinturicchio*. To the left is the "Journey of Moses and the Circumcision" (69); to the right is the "Baptism of Christ" (70). These are the corresponding rites, in the life of Law and in the life of Grace; they are corresponding symbols, showing how the old man must be put off and how there must be a death to sin, so that there may be a resurrection to righteousness. The "Journey of Moses" is a representation of Exodus IV. 18–26. In the background Moses takes leave of Jethro; on the left side of the picture the family sets out in a long procession; in the foreground the angel withstands Moses (in Exodus IV. 24 the Lord seeks to kill Moses); and to the right the child receives circumcision as a token of reconciliation and in fulfilment of the covenant made with Abraham. Opposite to the "Circumcision" is the "Baptism of Christ" (70). In the middle distance, to the right, John stands on the mountain side preaching to the people that the Law was given by Moses, but Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ (John I. 17). In the foreground is the baptism; it is the moment when Christ, having prayed (Luke III. 21), the heaven was opened,

and the Holy Ghost descended as a dove. In the middle distance, to the right, Christ speaks to the people. He has suffered temptation, he has heard that John has been imprisoned, and now He preaches, "Repent, for the Kingdom of God is at hand" (Matt. IV. 17). In the next picture, to the left and in the foreground, Moses slays the Egyptian (Ex. II. 11), and in the background he escapes to the land of Midian. In the foreground of the central part of the fresco Moses has driven off the shepherds and he is busy drawing water for the flocks of Jethro. He draws the waters of life, and is about to set out to conquer the heathen world and to redeem the true seed of Israel. Two of the daughters of Jethro stand looking on (Ex. II. 16–19). In the background there is the revelation given to Moses from the burning bush (Ex. III. 2–iv. 23). In the foreground, to the left, Moses appears at the head of his people with his brother Aaron (Ex. IV. 27) on the way to fulfil the destiny of the Hebrews. The fresco was painted by *Botticelli*, and the central scene, where the Midianitish women watch Moses watering their sheep, is perhaps the most charming piece of painting to be found in Rome. The fresco opposite to this has for its subject, according to Steinmann, the Cleansing of the Leper as prescribed by the Law of Moses (Lev. XIV. 2–32). When Christ had healed such an one (Matt. VIII. 4) He bade the man show himself to the priest, and offer the gift that Moses commanded. To the spectator's left of the altar the leper is led by two friends; behind them a woman brings a faggot for the burnt sacrifice, and on the other side another has the two birds. The full meaning of the picture appears, however, in the background; there is not merely the cleansing of the body from disease, there is also the cleansing of the soul from sin, and this is symbolized in the casting out of the devil as an answer to the wiles of his temptations. *Botticelli* has followed the account in Matthew (IV. 1–11). To the left of the fresco the devil, in a monk's habit, tempts Christ by offering to turn the stones to bread, so that He may break His fast of forty days. Again the devil takes Christ

to a pinnacle of the temple (Steinmann says this is meant for the façade of the hospital of S. Spirito, built by Sixtus IV), and tempts by offering immunity from the effect of natural law. Once more the temptation is repeated on the high mountain (to the right of the picture), where temporal power is offered. Christ drives the devil from Him, and angels come to minister to Him.

The fresco (**73**) by *Piero di Cosimo*, Pharaoh's destruction in the Red Sea. The historical and allegorical significance of this fresco, as well as its relation to the picture opposite, has already been noted. In the background of the picture Pharoah is seen seated on his throne, and before him the rods of Moses and Aaron become serpents. In the centre of the picture is the pillar of fire which gave light to the Israelites, while to the Egyptians it was cloud and darkness (Ex. xiv. 20).

The corresponding fresco (**74**), the calling of the Apostles, is by *Dom. Ghirlandajo*. In the middle distance, to the left, Christ calls Simon and Andrew; in the foreground they kneel before Him (Luke v. 8), for the great draught of fishes has opened their eyes to the supernatural power of their Master. In the middle distance, to the right, Christ, attended by Simon and Andrew, calls James and John. The crowd looking on are supposed to be portraits of Florentine citizens then living in Rome. These figures are good examples of the master's robust if somewhat commonplace art.

The two following frescoes, The Giving of the Law and the Worship of the Golden Calf (**75**) and (**76**) the Sermon on the Mount, stand evidently in close relation to one another. The giving of the Law is set against the preaching of the gospel. In the background of the fresco **75** God appears in a glory of angels, and gives the tables of testimony to Moses, who kneels on the top of the mountain (Ex. xxiv. 14–18). In the valley below the molten calf has been set up, sacrifice is offered to it, and the people have sat down to eat and drink, and risen up to play (Ex. xxxii. 6). In the centre of the picture Moses has come down from the mountain, followed by Joshua, and when he realizes how the people have cor-

rupted themselves (Ex. xhxii. 7) he casts the tables to the ground in his wrath. In the background, to the right, the sons of Levi are carrying out the punishment commanded by Moses. They have girded on their swords, and they are slaying every man his brother and every man his companion (Ex. xxxii. 27). To the left of the picture Moses appears, attended by Joshua, with the second tables (Ex. xxxiv. 27, 28). He is met by the people who, when they see how his face shines, are afraid to come near him, so that he has to veil himself (Ex. xxxv. 29–33).

The Sermon on the Mount (76) was painted by *Cosimo Roselli*. In the background Christ approaches, attended by the disciples whom He has just called. In the foreground, to the left, He preaches to the people, and to the right he cleanses the leper who came and worshipped Him (Matt. viii. 1–4).

The Punishment of Korah (**77**). In the background *Botticelli* has painted a scene suggested by the ruins of classical Rome. To the left is the arch of Constantine, to the right the colonnade of a temple, with the towers of a medieval city beyond. In the foreground, to the right, is the punishment of the blasphemer whose father was an Egyptian, and who was, according to the Law, to be stoned to death (Lev. xxiv. 10–16). To the left there is the scene where the adherents of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram appear with their censers, against Aaron with his censer (Num. xvi. 16–18). Moses raises his rod against the rebellious Levites. "What is Aaron that ye murmur against him?" (Num. xvi. 11) cries the indignant lawgiver, as the censers fall from the hands of his opponents. Aaron, who is crowned with the papal tiara, swings his censer with the proud assumption that the Lord is on his side. The connexion between this scene and the giving of the keys in fresco 78 (by *Perugino*) is obvious. The picture is an illustration of Matthew xvi. 18, 19. Peter kneels before Christ, who gives him the keys with the power to bind and to loose. The scene is the temple area at Jerusalem. In the background there is the temple, and at the sides

triumphal arches of Roman type. In the open space to the left there is the payment of the tribute money (Matt. XVII. 24–27). To the right there are two episodes in which the people seek to stone Christ. In John (VIII. 58, 59), in reply to the declaration "Before Abraham was, I am," the Jews took up stones to cast at Him, but Jesus hid Himself and went out of the temple; and again in John X. 30–33 the passions of the people are aroused by the saying "I and My Father are one," so that they took up stones to stone Him. In the punishment of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram we have seen how the authority of the old law was justified in the person of Aaron, its high priest, against the murmurs of the Israelites, and in the same way in the Giving of the Keys Christ vindicates His divine character against the blindness of the Jews, and delegates his authority to S. Peter as the high priest of the new law.

The fresco (**79**) on the left side of the chapel brings the acts of Moses to an end. In the foreground, to the right, he is seated on a high chair reading the law which he has written and delivered to the sons of Levi with the command that it was to be read at the end of every seven years (Deut. XXXI. 9, 10). To the left Joshua kneels before Moses and receives the charge to be strong, and the assurance that the Israelites shall enter the promised land (Deut. XXXI. 23). In the background Moses is on the top of Pisgah, from whence he sees the land that is to be given to the seed of Abraham (Deut. XXXIV. 4). In the upper left-hand corner Moses, who has died in the land of Moab, is bewailed by his people.

The picture opposite to this (**80**) is that of the Supper, where Christ has gathered about Him, for the last time, the twelve apostles, even as Moses in the last scenes of his life had gathered the twelve tribes. The company sits at a semicircular table. According to a common convention Judas is sitting by himself, and though the devil is already prompting him he still has the nimbus. Through the windows of the room we see the Agony in the Garden, the Kiss of Judas, and the Crucifixion.

The Stanze of Raphael

The Stanze of Raphael, corresponding to the four Borgia rooms which are immediately below them, form part of the palace built by Nicholas V and his successors. They are usually reached from the hall, where the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was promulgated in 1854. At the other end of the suite the rooms open on to the Loggia, where the paintings known as the "Bible of Raphael" were executed by his scholars and assistants.

The Stanze, as we enter from the hall of the Immaculate Conception, occur in the following order: (i) The Camera dell' Incendio; (ii) The Camera della Segnatura; (iii) The Camera dell' Eliodoro; (iv) the Sala di Constantino.

Raphael painted the Camera della Segnatura in the years 1508–11. The Camera dell' Eliodoro' was painted between 1511 and the summer of 1514. The frescoes of the Camera dell' Incendio date from the years 1514–17. The pictures on the walls of the Sala di Constantino were painted after the death of *Raphael*, which happened on Good Friday, 1520. He left behind him drawings, and with these to guide them his scholars executed the work, which was not finished until after the succession of Clement VII in 1523. The "Bible of Raphael," painted on the domes of the Loggia, is assigned to the years 1517–19.

The earliest work in the Camera della Segnatura shows the result of the Umbrian atmosphere in which Raphael had grown up. In the rest of the rooms it is possible to trace two main influences, viz. the effect of the classical remains in Rome, and still more the authority of *Michael Angelo.*

At the head of the assistants and scholars who worked with Raphael stood *Giulio Romano* (1492–1546), and with him were associated, amongst others, *Francesco Penni* (1488–1528), *Giovanni da Udine* (1487–1564), *Raphael del Colle* (1490–1566), and *Polidoro da Caravaggio* (1495–1543). Unfortunately none of these men had genius sufficient to seize upon and develop what was fruitful in the influences about them; instead of

that, they were content to exaggerate the weaker side of the traditions of their workshop. Thus it happened that the mighty works of Michael Angelo and the ineffable grace of Raphael left no succession.

The frescoes of the Stanze illustrate the sternly practical character by which the Papacy has ever been inspired. Julius II had small sympathy with purely artistic production, but he knew that genius of all kinds could add to the brilliancy and power of the See of Rome. *Michael Angelo*, *Bramante*, and *Raphael*, three of the greatest artists of their time, found full employment under him, and it is to the initiative of Julius that we owe the frescoes of the Stanze. He not only employed the greatest genius, he directed it, so that while the manner should captivate by its beauty, the subject should convince the world that the constitution of society and the welfare of humanity rested on the papacy.

In the middle ages there was a general belief that unity was the vital principal of the constitution of human society. Subordination to this unity was the law of divine order, and men could only find the goal of their existence by submission to it. The full expression of this unity is found in Christ, and He is represented on earth by His vice-regent the Pope, who is priest, king, lawgiver, and judge. His government orders its ruling so that men may prepare for a life of eternal blessedness. The civil power was an invention of worldly men except in so far as its authority was delegated to it by the Church. In feudal language the Pope was overlord of the Emperor. During the controversies of the fourteenth century ecclesiastical claims reached an extraordinary development. The functions of the papacy were declared to be "exceptionless, all-embracing, sovereign, boundless, always immediate, and the basis of all power."

The frescoes of the Stanze are animated by ideas analogous to these. In the Camera dell' Incendio, Pope Leo III clears himself by an oath before the altar, for no human tribunal can judge the Pope, he is accountable to Heaven alone. In the same room the Pope crowns

the Emperor, demonstrating the spiritual source of the temporal power. In the Camera dell' Eliodoro the expulsion of Heliodorus is a warning to all who lay hands on the temporalities of the Church; and in the Sala di Constantino the "Donation" which the Emperor makes to the Pope was, according to the theory of the fourteenth century, a restoration of that which had been violently usurped.

The Camera dell' Incendio, which is the first of the Stanza entered by the visitor, was the last to be painted during the lifetime of *Raphael*; the frescoes date from the years 1514–17. The principal pictures are (see plan xi): (1) Burning of the Borgo; (2) Victory at Ostia; (3) The Oath of Leo III; (4) Coronation of Charles the Great.

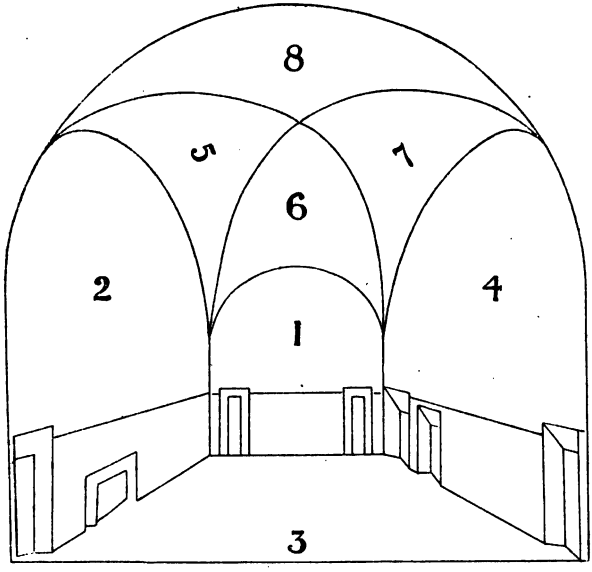
It is usually supposed that *Raphael's* personal share in the frescoes in this room is confined to the groups who supplicate for help from the Pope in the picture of the Burning of the Borgo (1). The groups in the foreground of that picture and the other three frescoes are the work of scholars, working from the designs of Raphael.

(1) The Burning of the Borgo refers to an incident in the Papacy of Leo IV (847–55). Fire broke out amongst the houses between S. Peter's and the Tiber, and the Basilica was saved by the prayer of the Pope, who quenched the fire by making the sign of the cross. This scene forms the background where the Pope is seen in an open loggia. Below is a group of excited women, some kneeling in prayer, others gesticulating violently. In the foreground to the right women are carrying water: the figure bearing a large jar on her head is famous. To the left there is a struggle to escape; a woman prepares to drop her baby to a man who reaches up towards it, a young man is letting himself down from a wall, while Æneas bears his father Anchises out of danger.

The incident of Æneas and Anchises, besides its pictorial value, emphasizes the pride of race. The

Romans traced their descent from the Trojan hero who is proclaimed by Dante as the "chosen father of Alma Roma," and as that "glorious king who was the father of the Roman people."

(2) The Battle of Ostia. This picture tells the story of the naval victory at Ostia, obtained by the allied



Plan xi. Camera dell' Incendio.

fleets of Pope Leo IV and the towns of Amalfi, Gaeta, and Naples, over the Saracens in the year 849. The Pope went to Ostia to give communion to the sailors. Their valour was aided by a storm at sea, and the Saracens were defeated.

Leo IV appears as Leo X, attended by the Cardinals Giuliano dei Medici (afterwards Clement VII) and Bibbiena. It has been said that these three portraits are by *Raphael's* own hand. In the background the ships enter the port, the shields of the warriors bearing

either the cross or the keys. To the right prisoners are being landed and dragged before the Papal throne.

(3) Leo III clearing himself by oath. In 795 Leo was elected Pope in succession to Adrian I, who during his long reign had allowed authority to fall into the hands of his family. In 799, while Pope Leo was passing in procession through the city, he was seized by the kinsmen of Adrian, ill-treated, and cast into prison. He escaped, and reached Spoleto under the guardianship of the duke, and visited the Frankish king in Germany later in the year. During the autumn the Pope returned to Rome in company with envoys sent by Charles, as Patrician, to try the charges made against Leo. He was received by the Romans with joy; but what the envoys did is not clear, for in the following year, 800, Charles himself set out for Rome to investigate the charges. At this point we find the reason for the choice of the subject. Some say that no man would accuse the Pope, others that the ecclesiastics "refused to judge the Apostolic See," and so it was left to Leo, "being judged by no man, and constrained by none," to clear himself by taking oath that he was innocent of the charges. The Pope stands at the altar, and lays his hands on the gospels. At his side Charles supports one side of the book. The tiara of the Pope and the King's crown are borne behind them.

(4) Coronation of Charles the Great as Emperor. This took place on Christmas Day, 800, a short time after the scene of the taking of the oath. It was at the celebration of Mass, as Charles rose from prayer at the altar of S. Peter, that Leo put a golden crown on his head. The assembly seems to have known what was going to happen, for it at once hailed him as Augustus. Some say that the Roman nobles and people had already elected Charles as Emperor; the ecclesiastical version is that Leo was moved to the act by divine inspiration, and this is the view that prompted the choice of the scene in the sixteenth century. It was regarded also as an evidence of the superior power of the Papacy, inasmuch as Leo was held to have taken

the Empire from the Byzantines and conferred it on the Franks.

The picture had, moreover, its relation to the politics of the sixteenth century. The tortuous policy of France, of the Empire, and of the Papacy, came to a head at the battle of Marignano in 1515, where, after two days' fighting, the allies of the Pope were beaten by Francis I. The outcome of the victory was the meeting of the Pope and the French King at Bologna. Francis was easily beguiled into throwing away his opportunities as a conqueror, although Leo X had to forgo some of his dreams for the advancement of the Medici. The fresco is intended to refer to this interview at Bologna. Leo III is painted as Leo X, and Charles the Great is represented by Francis I.

When *Raphael* was commissioned to paint in this room he left the work of *Perugino* on the roof untouched, partly, it is said, out of reverence for his master, and partly to save the time needed for repainting.

(5) Represents the Father Eternal surrounded by angels.

(6) This fresco has been variously interpreted.

(7) The Trinity with the Twelve Apostles.

(8) Supposed to represent Christ between the old and new law.

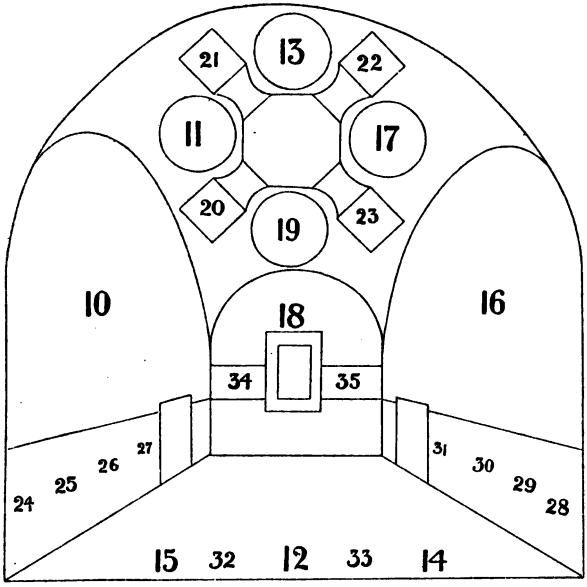
These pictures are in remarkable contrast to the work of Raphael's scholars on the walls. The difference in date cannot amount to more than about thirty-five years; the difference in style is immense. The atmosphere of *Perugino's* painting is artificial; there is a pleasant sentiment, an exceedingly refined sense of colour, there is an aroma of well-ordered subordination, there is even a decorous suggestion of an existence not within our own experience. Yet these tender and beautiful visions have no spring of life in them. They are but reflections from the vague cloudland of fancy, and from fancy bounded by a horizon purely hieratic.

The scholars of Raphael are certainly limited by no such traditions; they paint men and women in all kinds of relations, from those of the most stately and

sacred ceremonial down to the barbarous scenes at Ostia, and the terrors of the fire in the Borgo. They saw the mighty nudes of Michael Angelo, and they dared to enter the lists with him. They worked at the side of Raphael, they knew the magic of his personality, they saw his rough sketches grow into the deliberate drawing, and pass into the final form of a great picture. And yet in this Camera dell' Incendio it is impossible not to feel that the end of the great Tuscan tradition is at an end. Neither the stern vigour of Michael Angelo, nor the subtle witchery of Raphael, could save it. The future lay with the Flemings, with the Dutch, and with the Spaniards. For three hundred years Italy had been made famous by the artists of Pisa, of Florence, of Siena, and the hill cities of Umbria. Hellenism had been revitalized in the descendants of the Etruscan race. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, while some of the greatest masters were still alive, it became clear that the Tuscan mind was no longer stimulated by Greek ideals. The empty forms of later art, void of all true inspiration, are but one among many symptoms of the decline of national life.

The frescoes in the **Camera della Segnatura,** like all those in the Stanze, have generally been held to express "excellence" as well as "beauty"; that is, they were intended to enforce an idea as well as to adorn the walls of a palace. They explained the principles of wholesome living at the same time that they gladdened the heart by visions of beauty. The pictures in their art represent the full tide of Renaissance development; their philosophy is mainly mediæval. This is especially so in the Camera della Segnatura, where the frescoes may be considered as forming a single design, expressing a complete theory of human life. In the "Disputa" we see that there is a light in heaven which reveals the Creator to the creature, and it is only in "seeing the Creator that the creature has peace." This sight of the Creator was therefore the goal of existence. The

goal is reached by the ways of Hellenic culture and Hebraic inspiration. Here are the proofs, physical and metaphysical, such as may be gathered from the liberal arts and from philosophy, and there are the truths which come through Moses, the prophets, the Psalms,



Plan xii. Camera della Segnatura.

and the Gospels. It was by this twofold manifestation that the nature of man was energized and perfected.

The small panels on the roof, showing the fate of Adam and Eve (plan xii, **21**), and of Marsyas (**20**), tell the tale of the tragedy that befell mankind through pride and presumption. The rest of the frescoes describe how nature may recover from the results of the fall, and how it may once more move through the great sea of being towards eternal goodness.

The whole scheme comes to fruition in the " Disputa,"

where the kingdom of God in heaven, and the city of God on earth, are knit together by the love of the Holy Spirit, symbolized by the dove which descends from the realm of sight to the realm of faith. It is this love which vitalizes the universe, and leads from the discipline of the will (in the "jurisprudence" [12, on plan xii]), and the discipline of knowledge (in the "School of Athens" [16]), to the perfection of that order (in the "Parnassus" [18]), which fashions the world so that it becomes the image and likeness of the Idea in the Mind of God.

As the visitor enters from the Stanze dell' Incendio and faces the fresco known as the "Parnassus" (18, plan xii), the "Disputa" (10) is on the wall to the left. Above it on the roof is "Theology" (11). On the wall opposite that of the entrance is the fresco of "Jurisprudence" (12), and on the roof above, the subject is completed by the figure of "Justice" (13). Below the "Jurisprudence" there are two frescoes—in one of them Justinian receives the codification of the Roman Law from Tribonianus (14); in the other Gregory IX gives a Copy of the Decretals to a priest (15). The picture on the wall to the left is the "School of Athens" (16), and on the roof above is "Philosophy" (17). The picture on the wall facing the spectator is the "Parnassus" (18), with "Poetry" (19) on the roof above.

Besides the four circular pictures on the roof which have direct relation to the pictures on the wall, there are four others connected with the general scheme. (20) Apollo and Marsyas is a warning against human presumption, in relation, perhaps, to the "Parnassus" below. (21) Fall of Man is next to the figure of "Theology," and above the "Disputa." (22) The Judgment of Solomon is connected with "Justice" and the "Jurisprudence" below. (23) Astronomy is related to the figure of "Philosophy" and the "School of Athens" beneath.

Besides the main series of pictures, the lower parts of the walls are decorated in monochrome; the work is

attributed to *Pierino del Vaga.* Under the "Disputa": (**24**) Ancient Sacrifice (?); (**25**) Augustine and the child on the seashore; (**26**) Augustus and the Sibyl; (**27**) Celestial wisdom. Under the "School of Athens": (**28**) Sack of a city; death of a philosopher; (**29**) Siege of a city; (**30**) Science of astronomy; (**31**) Terrestrial science (?); Under "Jurisprudence": (**32**) Moses gives the Law to the Israelites; (**33**) Solon gives the Law to the Athenians (?) Under "Parnassus": (**34**) Alexander orders poems from Homer to be laid on the tomb of Achilles; (**35**) Augustus saves the MSS. of Virgil from the flames.

The Disputa. In the kingdom of heaven (represented in the upper part of the fresco (**No. 10, on plan xii**) the Patriarch, the Lawgiver, the Prophet, the Apostle, the Evangelist, and the Confessor are united in the felicity of the divine vision. To the spectator's left, beginning at the side of the picture, there are S. Peter, Adam, S. John the Evangelist, David, S. Stephen, and Jeremiah; to the spectator's right, beginning at the side of the picture, there are S. Paul, Abraham, S. James-the-Great, Moses, S. Lorenzo, and perhaps S. George. Beneath the feet of Christ the dove in an aureole of light descends, and four angels hold the four open gospels. In the city of God upon earth the doctors are nearest to the altar. SS. Ambrose and Augustine to the spectator's right, SS. Jerome and Gregory to the left. In the group to the right there stand S. Thomas Aquinas, Innocent III (?) S. Bonaventura, Sixtus IV, and Dante. To the left there are several bishops, and in the background a group representing various monastic orders.

On the roof above the "Disputa," clad in a white veil, a green mantle, and a red robe, is the figure of "Theology" (**11, plan xii**), the divine science which rests upon the moral virtues, the physical sciences, philosophy and poetry. Human capacity perfected by the discipline of virtue and knowledge, gains in theology

a power beyond that of the ordinary faculties; it becomes possible for man to see something of that which lies behind the mystery of life.

Turning now to the pictures which define the way of the soul towards its goal, we begin with **"Jurisprudence"** (**12** on the plan). The moral virtues—prudence, fortitude, and temperance—each a form of divine love, direct man in his first steps towards the right direction of the will. The foresight and guidance of prudence, the sobriety and self-control of temperance, and the confidence and perseverance of fortitude, are united in "Justice" (**13**), that is, in the fulfilment of every duty and the harmony of all other wills with the primal will. When these virtues became a fixed habit, man is freed from the dominion of vice, and his nature is prepared so that all his faculties shall work freely and to the fullest advantage. Below the "Jurisprudence" there are frescoes showing how men have tried to strengthen the virtuous habit by law. On the one hand there is secular law as perfected in Roman custom and codified under the Emperor Justinian, on the other the law of the spiritual development of man's nature as embodied in decisions of the Papacy, confided to an ecclesiastical lawyer by Gregory IX.

In the "Jurisprudence" we have been regarding the perfection of the will, in the **"School of Athens"** (**16, plan xii**) we see how the reasoning faculties are perfected in the light of Hellenic culture. The groups are gathered in a great hall of magnificent proportions, such as *Bramante* was planning to make the new church of S. Peter's. At the top of a flight of stairs, and in the centre of the nave, are the figures of Plato and Aristotle, the one with the "Timæus" and the other with the "Ethics." On the walls of the transept *Raphael* has painted figures of Apollo and Minerva looking down on a scene in which the intellectual energy and the philosophic habit of the Greeks is made to live before our eyes. We may note in passing that these tutelary

deities of civilization and wisdom are those to whom Dante looks for inspiration and guidance when he is setting out on his journey through Paradise (Par. ii. 8). Plato and Aristotle are attended by disciples, who stand on each side of the nave. In the transept to the spectator's left, and nearly under the figure of Apollo, Socrates forms the centre of a group to whom he expounds Dialectic, "the coping stone of the Sciences"; the young man in armour is supposed to be Alcibiades. On the level of the foreground and to the extreme left a number of grammarians are gathered round the base of a pillar. Nearer to the centre of the foreground, but still to the left, there is a group of arithmeticians of whom Pythagoras is supposed to be the leader. In the foreground to the right Euclid (painted as Bramante) expounds a geometrical problem. In the foreground to the extreme right Zoroaster and Ptolemy bear celestial and terrestrial globes. Immediately behind them two portrait faces appear; they are those of *Sodoma* and *Raphael.* The nearly nude figure on the steps is that of Diogenes.

The liberal arts, which are grouped together in relation to the great names in Greek philosophy, were regarded as the pillars on which rested the house of wisdom. The arts of the poet, the orator, and the man of letters are exemplified by the students of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic; the arts of arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy (the influence of music appears in the "Parnassus) are those on which depend the knowledge of the mathematician and physicist.

Under the discipline of science the mind was trained so that it reached the power of co-ordinating knowledge into a body of philosophy. Thus man was freed from the shackles of ignorance, and he was able to perceive the true purpose of his existence. As life was one continuous whole, so was knowledge; there were formal divisions, but it was one single process, from the elements of grammar to the great themes of theology. This unity of knowledge is enforced by the figure of philosophy (17) painted on the roof over the "School of

Athens." She has in her hands books of the twin divisions moral and natural philosophy, and the supports of her throne are statues of the many-breasted Diana, the goddess of the principle of fertility. The general ideas which philosophy deduced from the various branches of knowledge were the source of human advancement and the basis of the perfection of life.

In the "Jurisprudence" fresco we have seen how the will is rightly directed, in the "School of Athens" the reasoning faculty is developed; the nature which results from the joining together of good will and trained reason is ready to receive the higher gifts of divine inspiration.

The last of the frescoes on the walls is known as the **"Parnassus"** (**18, plan xii**). On the slopes of Mount Parnassus Apollo is seated playing his lyre, surrounded by the nine muses. The muse to the spectator's right of Apollo is identified as Erato, behind her follow Urania, Euterpe, Thalia, and Clio; passing by the trees we come to Polyhymnia, Terpsichore, Melpomene, and Calliope, who is in the foreground to the spectator's left of Apollo. Round this central group are the poets who have been fostered by the muses. In the group to the left figures have been identified as Homer, Virgil, and Dante. Sappho rests on the slope to the left of the window, and Pindar is in the corresponding position to the right.

From the court of Apollo the poets of all ages receive that inspiration that "gives glory unto genius." Thus, when Dante sets out on his journey through Hell he prepares himself by an appeal to the muses, likewise when he begins to climb the mountain of Purgatory he prays to the "holy muses" that his gift may be strengthened, and when at last he reaches Paradise the muses do not suffice, he appeals to their father Apollo, the "joyous Godhead of Delphi," to give him power to see the glorious vision that is about to be opened to him. In mediæval speculation the muses were closely allied to the sciences, to philosophy, and to the powers that

move the heavenly bodies. The harmony between these different manifestations of the divine idea was symbolized by the music of Apollo's lyre, which thus became a figure, not only of the concord in the soul of man when all its capacities are evenly and fully developed, but of the change from discord to harmony throughout the universe.

Above "Parnassus" is "Poetry," a charming figure of the pleasures of the imagination. The inscription, "inspired by the divine will," explains why she takes her place as the synthesis of philosophy, of science, and of the moral virtues, and why she is the last term leading up to the divine presence in the "Disputa." As Virgil and Statius climb the mountain of Purgatory they discuss how it was that the latter had become a Christian. The answer is, "Thou first didst send me towards Parnassus to drink in its caves, and then didst light me on to God." Nothing could more aptly sum up the drift of these frescoes than the conclusion reached in the "Republic," that when those who have distinguished themselves in every action of their lives, and in every branch of knowledge, come at last to their consummation, they must raise the eye of the soul to the universal light which lightens all things, and behold the absolute good.

The Camera dell' Eliodoro.

Before *Raphael* was employed in the room *Piero della Francesca* and other fifteenth-century artists had painted its walls. This older work included many portraits, and it is said that Raphael caused it to be copied before the pictures were destroyed. The chamber as we see it now was painted during the years 1511 or 1512 and 1514. Julius II died in February, 1513; two of the four principal frescoes were painted in his honour, the other two were concerned with his successor Leo X. It may be worth noting that this is the first of the Stanze painted after the Sistine frescoes had been opened to the public.

In the Camera della Segnatura Raphael painted the

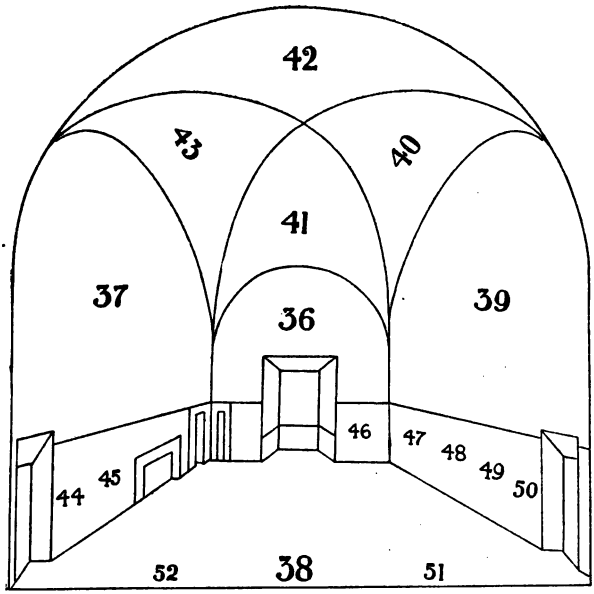
ideal of the Church as a divine institution, embracing and unifying all human effort on earth, and fully realized in the presence of the Trinity in heaven. In the Camera dell' Eliodoro we witness the manner in which Raphael expanded and illustrated the idea of the "single state" or church. The pictures are made to illustrate, not only this idea, but also current events; and although there is no historical continuity, the constant assertion of the authority of the Roman See is more striking than if any consecutive narrative had been attempted.

The note is struck in the picture of the Mass of Bolsena (**36, plan xiii**). It has been remarked that from the place which the Eucharist held in the theory and practice of the Church criticism of it, was criticism of the Church. The vindication, therefore, of the Eucharistic dogma was the vindication of the Church. The miracle of Bolsena happened in 1263, while a German priest was saying Mass at that place. The priest had been led to doubt the doctrine of the Real Presence, and he had set out to journey towards Rome so that he might find some spiritual anchorage. In celebrating Mass at the church of S. Christina at Bolsena a miracle was worked: blood dropped from the wafer, and upon the cloth there appeared the image of the Saviour. The miracle was officially recognized, and Pope Urban IV instituted the feast of Corpus Domini, for which S. Thomas Aquinas composed the office.

In *Raphael's* picture it is Julius II who kneels opposite the celebrant, and it is supposed that the older of the two priests behind him is the Cardinal Raphael Riario, a grand-nephew of Sixtus IV, and cousin of Julius II, who had in his youth been a witness of the assassination of Giuliano dei Medici in the Duomo at Florence. This fresco is considered one of the finest in the series, and yet there is a sense of unreality that does not attach to most of the pictures. The priest who celebrates is moved only by a gentle sentiment of wonder; the Pope regards the miracle with an official air; the ecclesiastics, except the elder cardinal, are formal and unmoved spectators, the guards who kneel to the right have a

peculiarly conventional bearing. The crowd to the left are violent and theatrical. Neither actor nor spectators appear to realize the profound mystery which they witness.

(37) Expulsion of Heliodorus. The scene is laid in a magnificent hall, such as Bramante taught Raphael to



Plan xiii. Camera dell' Eliodora.

design. The story is told in 2 Maccabees, cap. 3. Money belonging to widows and orphans was stored in the temple at Jerusalem, because of the "majesty and inviolable sanctity" of the place. The "King of Asia," hearing of it through a traitorous Jew, sent Heliodorus to seize the treasure. Onias, the high priest, is praying before the altar for help from the Almighty to keep that which has been given to his charge. Women have thronged into the temple to add their supplications,

when suddenly a terrible rider in golden armour appears, while Heliodorus and his men are carrying off their plunder. The horse strikes out with his feet at Heliodorus, and two youths scourge him unceasingly, and so he was "manifestly made to recognize the sovereignty of God." To the left of the scene Julius II has been carried into the temple; he seems more at home here than in the church at Bolsena; he sees in the victory of the high priest a figure of his own triumph over the French. Divine intervention to secure the portions of the widows and orphans is a symbol of divine protection for the temporalities of the Church. The group of women express their emotions with exaggerated vehemence, and the bearers of the Pope (one of whom is *Mark Antonio*, the engraver of many of Raphael's designs) are conventional; but there is a fine swing and movement in the miraculous group which chastises the sacrilegious servant of the temporal power.

(38) Deliverance of S. Peter. The central figure is that of S. Peter lying in a cell, barred with iron. His hands are chained to one soldier and his feet to another. Suddenly there is a bright light, and the angel of deliverance is about to release the apostle. As the pillar of the cloud was at the same time a light to the Israelites and darkness to the Egyptians, so the celestial brilliance which brings liberty and rescue to the prisoner leaves the guards unconscious. To the spectator's right the angel and S. Peter part outside the prison, the guards lying asleep at their feet. To the left a soldier has been awakened; he has lit a torch and rouses his fellows. It is said that this deliverance of the founder of the Roman See was intended as a figure of the deliverance of the Cardinal Giovanni dei Medici just twelve months before he was elected Pope as Leo X. In April, 1512, the French army won a great victory over the Papal and allied forces at Ravenna. The Cardinal was serving as legate with the army, and was taken prisoner. The French had won the victory, but they were unable to reap any advantage from it, and the Cardinal dei Medici did good service in strengthening

the hand of Julius II by giving him information of the real state of the enemy. During the retreat of the French through Northern Italy the Cardinal managed to escape while the army was crossing the Po at Bassignano.

The historical event which forms the basis of the scene depicted in the fresco **39, plan xiii,** happened in 452. Attila, King of the Huns, invaded Italy in that year. There was no power to oppose his advance on Rome, and in their despair the citizens sent an embassy to meet the barbarian. Pope Leo the Great was associated with certain senators, and peace was made at the cost of a yearly tribute. No adequate reason is known why Attila should have shrunk from his purpose; it has been usual to say that he was moved by veneration for the saintly character of the great Churchman. If, however, the history of the event is obscure, legend has been busy. Attila is said to have been warned by the appearance of an ancient man who bid him obey the Pope, and it is a version of this legend which Raphael has used. The barbarian King is the centre of a group of soldiers, some on horseback, others on foot, all in wild excitement and uncontrollable confusion at the miraculous appearance in the sky. SS. Peter and Paul, each sword in hand, warn back the invaders. The calm confidence of the Pope and his court is in marked contrast to the bewilderment of the invaders. The great processional cross is opposed to the spears and banners of the Huns. It is the victory of the spiritual over the temporal power, and the ruins of ancient Rome in the background suggest the triumph of Christianity over Paganism.

Pope Leo the Great is painted as Leo X, and Attila represents Louis XII of France. The picture is supposed to refer to the defeat which the Swiss, the Emperor, and the Pope inflicted on the army of Louis XII at Novara in 1513. The pictures on the roof are (40) The Covenant with Abraham, or, as some have thought, with Noah (over the discomfiture of Attila) (41) The Sacrifice of Isaac (over the miracle of Bolsena); (42) The Dream of Jacob (over the deliverance of Peter);

(43) God Appearing to Moses in the Burning Bush (over the expulsion of Heliodorus). The monochromes **42** to **52** represent the landing of bales of goods, reaping, ploughing, wine-making, winnowing corn, milking, a goat, victorious ruling, and allegorical figures of the plenty, which nature yields to the labours of men.

The last of the Stanze is the **Sala di Constantino,** painted by the scholars and disciples of Raphael after his death. The hall is much larger than any of the other rooms, and the pictures are of enormous size. The four great frescoes are: (**53, plan xiv**) The speech of Constantine to his soldiers. This picture is attributed mainly to *Giulio Romano*; (**54**) The Battle between Constantine and Maxentius at the Ponte Molle, painted mainly by *Giulio Romano*; (**55**) The Baptism of Constantine, by *Gian Francesco Penni*; (**56**) The "Donation" of Rome to the Pope, by *Raphael dal Colle.*

In addition to these large pictures, there are paintings of eight Popes, surrounded by allegorical figures. Beginning over the door of exit, and to the left of scene, where Constantine harangues his men, is the figure of (**57**) S. Peter with allegorical figures representing the "Church" and "Eternity"; (**58**) S. Clement I with "Modesty" and "Mildness"; (**59**) Sylvester I with "Faith" and "Religion"; (**60**) Urban I with "Justice" and "Charity"; (**61**) Damasus with "Prudence" and "Peace"; (**62**) Leo the Great with "Innocence" and "Truth"; (**63**) Sylvester I (?) with "Fortitude"; (**64**) Gregory VII with "Power" or "Force."

On the central part of the roof *Lauretti* (1520–1600) has painted the triumph of Christianity; a fallen image lies before the crucified Christ.

The monochromes under the "Donation" represent (**71**) The Apparition of SS. Peter and Paul to Constantine and (**70**) The Finding of the True Cross. Under the "Baptism," (**68**) the Repeal of the Edicts against the Christians, and (**69**) the Building of S. Peter's. Under the "Battle with Maxentius," **65–7** show the soldiers of

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been developed for the government of the Empire, there were in the year 312 two rulers in the east and two in the west; of the western rulers Maxentius governed in Rome and Constantine in Gaul. War broke out between them, and according to tradition it took the form of a struggle between Christianity and Paganism. Constantine, in reflecting on the fate of Empire, had concluded that those who trusted to many gods had been deceived; he therefore, with earnest supplication, prayed that the One God would reveal Himself, and in a vision there was shown to him a cross of light, bearing the inscription "Conquer by this." In a second vision he was commanded to make a standard in the form of the cross, to be used in the contest with his enemies.

With an army small in numbers, but trained in constant warfare, Constantine crossed the Mont Cenis, stormed Susa, destroyed the cavalry of Maxentius at Turin, took Verona after defeating the enemy, and marched on Rome. On 28 October, 312, the armies of Maxentius and Constantine met in the meadows near the Ponte Molle (the Milvian Bridge), when the soldiers of Constantine were victorious. (**53**, plan XIV.) Constantine addresses his soldiers, and in the sky there is a renewal of the vision of the cross. In the background there is the tomb of Hadrian, the Bridge of S. Angelo, and the city of Rome. The prize of Empire is within sight of the soldiery, and Constantine, with the crown on his head, exhorts them and inflames their courage with the assurance of the new source of power. Angels bear the cross in the sky, and opposite to it the dragon shoots out his head in fruitless rage.

(**54**, plan xiv.) The battle between Maxentius and Constantine near the Ponte Molle. The picture shows the fight after it has been won, although there is still a struggle with the more staunch Pretorians. Constantine has reached the banks of the Tiber; Maxentius, in attempting to cross, has fallen into the river, so that his end, according to the ecclesiastical writers, was like that of Pharaoh. Behind Constantine are borne the

standards on which the cross of the Christians is joined with the eagle of the Empire. The trumpets sound, and the victory is proclaimed, if not in the same words, yet in the same spirit (says a contemporary) as the people of Moses spoke concerning the impious tyrant of old. The manifestation of divine power is made visible by the three angels in the sky who have directed the onset.

(**55**, plan xiv.) Baptism of Constantine. The historical fact is that Constantine was not baptized till shortly before his death in 337. The belief in the middle ages, however, was that the Emperor was smitten with leprosy as a punishment for persecuting Christians. He refused to be healed by bathing in the blood of infants, and in obedience to SS. Peter and Paul, who appeared to him in a vision, he sent for S. Sylvester. The Pope baptized him in a porphyry vase, in the palace of the Lateran, and he was cleansed of his leprosy. This is the scene which *Penni* has painted, although the Emperor is not depicted in the famous font as he appears in the fresco at SS. Quattro Coronati.

(**56**, on plan xiv.) Constantine's Donation of Rome to the Pope. It is probable that Constantine gave the Lateran Palace to Pope Sylvester, but the Donation of Constantine as conceived by the Papal Curia was something much wider than this. The document setting out all the rights and privileges and all the provinces which Constantine was supposed to have bestowed on the Pope is believed to date from the middle of the eighth century. In it the Roman clergy were raised to the dignity of senators, and the Emperor handed over the palace, "the city of Rome, and all the provinces, places, and cities of Italy" to the most blessed pontiff, and universal Pope Sylvester. The scene of the Donation is placed in the nave of the ancient basilica of S. Peter, part of which was still standing at the time the picture was painted. In the semidome there is a large figure of Christ with S. Paul on His right and S. Peter on His left. In the foreground the Pope is seated on a throne raised high above the nave, and

over it is a magnificent baldacchino. The Emperor, with a laurel crown, kneels at his feet and presents, as a symbol of the Donation, a figure of the genius of Rome—a statuette of a soldier armed with shield and spear.

Loggie of the Vatican

The loggie which surround the Cortile di San Damaso were planned by Bramante. The lower loggia on the level of the Borgia apartments was decorated by Giovanni da Udine (1487–1564). It is a most graceful and refined example of the style usual in the early part of the sixteenth century. The second loggia on the level of the Stanze of Raphael was also decorated by Giovanni da Udine, and the thirteen small domes which form the roof were painted in the years 1517–19 under the direction of Raphael. This series of frescoes is known as the Bible of Raphael; it begins at the end farthest from the door which leads into the stanze.

First Dome. Separation of Light from Darkness; Separation of the Waters and the Earth; The Sun and Moon set in the Firmament; The Waters and the Earth bring forth living things.

Second Dome. Eve is presented to Adam; The Temptation; The Expulsion; The Life of Labour; Eve spins, Adam sows.

Third Dome. Building of the Ark; The Deluge; Coming out of the Ark; Sacrifice of Noah.

Fourth Dome. Melchizedek and Abraham; God's promise to Abraham; Three Angels appear to Abraham in the Plains of Mamre; Lot flies from the cities of the plain, his wife is turned into a pillar of salt.

Fifth Dome. God appears to Isaac; Abimelech, Isaac, and Rebekah; Isaac blesses Jacob; Esau seeks a share in the Blessing.

Sixth Dome. Jacob's Vision; Jacob waters the Flocks of Laban; Jacob claims the hand of Rachel; Jacob returns to Canaan.

Seventh Dome. Joseph tells his Dreams to his

Brethren ; Joseph sold by his Brethren; Potiphar's Wife ; Joseph expounds the Dreams of Pharaoh.

Eighth Dome. Finding of Moses; God appears in the Burning Bush ; Passage of the Red Sea ; Moses causes water to flow from the Rock.

Ninth Dome. Moses receives the Tables of the Law; worship of the Golden Calf ; The Cloudy Pillar ; Moses shows the Tables of the Law to the Israelites.

Tenth Dome. Israelites cross the Jordan ; Fall of Jericho ; The Sun and the Moon stand still at the command of Joshua ; Land divided by lot.

Eleventh Dome. David anointed by Samuel ; David slays Goliath ; Triumph of David ; David and Bathsheba.

Twelfth Dome. Zadok anoints King Solomon ; The Judgment of Solomon ; The Building of the Temple ; The Queen of Sheba visits Solomon.

Thirteenth Dome. Adoration of the Shepherds ; Adoration of the Magi ; Baptism of Christ ; Last Supper.

The Vatican Picture Gallery

The picture gallery is reached by a staircase from the Loggia of Raphael.

Room I.

Leonardo da Vinci : Unfinished study for S. Jerome.

Raphael : Annunciation, Adoration of the Magi, and Presentation. These three little pictures formed the predella for the Coronation of the Virgin, painted for Maddalena degli Oddi in Room III.

Francia : Virgin and Child.

Fra Angelico : Story of S. Nicholas ; Nativity ; Preaching ; Gift to the Daughters of the Poor Nobleman ; S. Nicholas as the Patron of Sailors.

On the wall of the windows.

Carlo Crivelli : Pietà.

On the end wall passing by the door of entrance to Room III.

Raphael : Predella—Faith, Hope, and Charity, in monochrome.

On the wall opposite the windows.

Fra Angelico : Madonna and Child.

Perugino : Three busts—S. Benedict, S. Placidus, and S. Catherine (?), or, perhaps, S. Flavia.

Murillo : Madonna and Child.

Francesco Cossa : Miracles of S. Hyacinth.

Mantegna : Pietà. This work has been attributed to Giovanni Bellini, and to several other painters.

Room II.

Domenichino (1581–1641): Communion of S. Jerome.

Raphael : Madonna di Foligno. Painted in the years 1511, 1512 for Sigismondo Conti, a papal chamberlain, who is supposed to have ordered the picture in fulfilment of a vow made during a bombardment of Foligno. In the background there is a landscape with a view of the town. To the spectator's right S. Jerome presents Conti, who folds his hands in prayer. To the left S. John the Baptist appeals to all believers, and S. Francis kneels in an ecstasy of devotion. The vision towards which these groups gaze is that of Madonna with the child in her arms. She is seated on the clouds, surrounded by an aureole of cherubs. Raphael has tried to realize Madonna in glory, to whom S. Bernard prays when he guides Dante to the final vision. " In thee, mercy, in thee, pity, in thee, mighty deeds, in thee is united all of goodness that is in a creature. This man supplicates thee for a gift of virtue so far that he may with his eyes raise himself higher towards the final salvation."

The rich and warm colour of the picture has been attributed to the Venetian influence of Sebastiano del Piombo. It is supposed that the group of S. John the Baptist, and S. Francis, to the left, was painted by an assistant.

Raphael : The Transfiguration. The Cardinal Giuliano dei Medici (Clement VII) having become Bishop of Narbonne, ordered two paintings for the cathedral there. Raphael and Sebastiano del Piombo each received a commission. The latter undertook a " Raising of Lazarus," and Raphael at first planned a " Resurrec-

tion," changing the subject afterwards to that of the Transfiguration. The work was unfinished at the time of his death on Good Friday, 1520. The upper scene, that of the Transfiguration, is generally attributed to Raphael himself; and the lower part, where the apostles have failed to cure the possessed child, is supposed to be by *Giulio Romano.*

Raphael has chosen to indicate the celestial elements of the picture by freeing the figures from the rule of the natural order of things. Moses floats, to the left, bearing the tables of the Law. Elias, to the right, has the book of prophecy. The apostles, still subject to terrestrial conditions, hide their eyes from the dazzling brilliance of the full light of the gospel. To the left kneel SS. Giuliano and Lorenzo.

The character of the painting in the scene below is such as we are accustomed to from the scholars of Raphael.

Room III.

Turning to the right at the entrance.

Titian: Virgin and Child, with SS. Margaret, Nicholas, Peter, Antony of Padua, Francis, and Sebastian.

Pinturicchio: Coronation of the Virgin. Below S. Francis kneels showing the stigmata, in the centre of a group of apostles. To the spectator's left SS. Bonaventura and Bernardino; to the right SS. Louis of Toulouse and Antony of Padua.

Perugino: Resurrection. Christ bears the cross with the white pennon of victory. Three of the guards are asleep, the fourth stands in amazement. An Umbrian landscape, with a lake and gentle slopes rising out of it, stretches away beyond the tomb.

Giulio Romano and *Francesco Penni.* Coronation of the Virgin. Raphael agreed to paint a picture for the nuns of Monteluce, near Perugia, in 1505; again in 1516 the contract was renewed, and finally the picture was painted, the upper part by Giulio Romano and the lower part by G. Francesco Penni. It was sent to Perugia in 1525. Note the characteristics of the work of Raphael's disciples in this picture, and compare with the Umbrian pictures on each side.

Lo Spagna : Nativity. The child lies on the ground, and is adored by Madonna, Joseph, and three angels. Above, in the heavens, the celestial choir sing the Gloria in Excelsis. In the middle distance the three kings have arrived ; they stand with their gifts in their hands, gazing at the mystery before them. The picture is a fine example of Umbrian devotion, and the gracious refinement with which it was represented.

Raphael : Coronation of the Virgin. A picture commissioned by Maddalena degli Oddi in the early years of the sixteenth century. It is supposed that the first intention was to paint an Assumption of the Virgin, and that the subject was changed into a Coronation. Whether this is so or not, the lower part of the picture is filled with the empty tomb surrounded by the apostles. S. Peter has the keys, S. Paul leans on the hilt of his sword, and looks down at the lilies and roses which have sprung up in the tomb. S. Thomas stands between them with the girdle in his hand. In the upper part of the picture angels, making music, surround the group of the Coronation. A number of drawings are in existence, showing how carefully Raphael made studies from nature for the purpose of this picture. There is some uncertainty about the date of the work, but it is usually assigned to the time when Raphael was under the influence of Perugino.

Perugino : Madonna and Child, with SS. Ercolano, Constantino, Lorenzo, and Louis of Toulouse. Madonna is seated on a raised throne under an open canopy of arches ; the whole design gives a delightful sense of sunlight and space. The picture is also a fine example of the colour of Perugino at its best.

Coronation of the Virgin, attributed to *Gentile da Fabriano.*

Niccolo da Foligno : Triptych. Crucifixion, with Madonna, S. John, and S. Mary Magdalen. To the left stand SS. Peter and Venantius, with Isaiah in the medallion above ; to the right SS. John Baptist and Porphyrius with David above. S. Porphyrius was the

apostle of Camerino and the teacher of Venantius, who was patron saint of the place.

Melozzo da Forli (1438–94): Sixtus IV giving audience to Platina, the head of the Vatican Library, who kneels before the Pope. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere (afterwards Julius II) stands near the Pope, and to the left is Girolamo Riario, the papal nephew, who was one of the principals in the Pazzi conspiracy.

Niccolo da Foligno: Coronation of the Virgin with a figure of the crucified Christ above. At the sides there are SS. John Baptist, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine. Beneath are half-length figures of the apostles, each with the appropriate part of the creed. At the bottom of the picture there is a long row of women saints.

Titian: Portrait of a Doge.

Room IV.

The pictures in this room mark the development of art in the seventeenth century. Turn to the left.

Guido Reni (1574–1642): Crucifixion of S. Peter.

Barocci: Annunciation.

Andrea Sacchi (*d.* 1661): S. Gregory and the Brandeum, or cloth which had touched the body of a martyr. A certain ambassador who had been ordered to obtain a relic from Pope Gregory despised the Brandeum which was offered to him. To prove its value the Pope caused blood to flow from it.

Moretto da Brescia (1498–1555): Madonna and Child.

Guido Reni (attributed): Madonna and Child.

Correggio: Christ in glory.

Tapestries

The Galleria degli Arazzi is open to visitors on Wednesday, and is reached from the entrance in the Via dei Fondamenti.

In the years 1515–16, by the order of Leo X, *Raphael* made ten designs for tapestries which were to be hung in the Sistine Chapel, below the Florentine and Umbrian paintings commissioned by Sixtus IV. The tapestries were woven, under the direction of *Peter Van Aelst*, at

Brussels, and the whole series were hung in their places in the year 1520.

The subjects were chosen from the lives of SS. Peter and Paul, the joint founders of the Roman Church, and they show how the Papacy rests on the commission given by Christ.

The tapestries designed by *Raphael* are displayed, together with a second series ordered by Leo X, for the Hall of the Consistory.

Of this second series only the Coronation of the Virgin is regarded as having been possibly designed by Raphael himself. None of them were delivered until the time of Clement VII. They are known as "Arazzi della Scuola Nuova."

Raphael's tapestries are composite works, and it is probable that a good deal must be allowed for the employment of assistants in the original designs. Compare, for instance, the crowded and ineffective architectural backgrounds in the "Blindness of Elymas," the "Sacrifice at Lystra," and the "Preaching at Athens," with the spacious temple in which the "School of Athens" is set. In addition to this, the Italian conception was translated by Flemish handiwork. The artists of both schools had definite and irreconcilable traditions, and although there is a distinct magnificence and quality in the tapestries as a whole, the want of unity in temper and method has produced a result, falling short of the higher aims alike of Italians and Flemings. We need not expect to find the apostles gentle, dignified, and contemplative as Perugino would have painted them, and yet these huge muscular forms, wild of aspect, passionate, and unrestrained, seem to lack true inspiration, as much as they fall short of probability in realizing the fishermen of Tiberias. There is also a certain love of the grotesque, as in the figure who folds his hands in the "Sacrifice at Lystra," and in the two lame men in the "Curing of the Cripple," while in the "Death of Ananias," exaggerated emotion takes the place of dramatic power.

The borders of many of the pieces are beautiful and

interesting. The following may be especially noted: the "Fates" and the "Seasons" at the sides of the "Giving of the Keys"; the "Constellations" at the side of the "Preaching at Athens"; and the Theological virtues at the side of the "Death of Ananias." In addition there are scenes relating to the life of Leo X when he was Cardinal Giovanni dei Medici.

As in the case of all the work done by Raphael's pupils and assistants after the death of the master, the second series of tapestries, those of the scuola Nuova, show a decline in capacity; they are distinguished by the number 2 in the following list—those marked No. 1 were designed by Raphael.

LEFT	RIGHT
(1) Christ gives the keys to S. Peter. The "Fates" and the "Seasons" at the sides. Flight of Card. Giovanni dei Medici at the bottom.	(1) Miraculous draught of fishes. Entry of Leo X as Pope into Rome below.
(1) SS. Peter and John cure the cripple at the gate of the temple. The "Hours" at the side. Cardinal Giovanni dei Medici at the battle of Ravenna.	(1) Stoning of S. Stephen. Entry of guard. Giovanni dei Medici as legate.
(1) Sacrifice before SS. Paul and Barnabas at Lystra. Below, leave-taking between SS. John and Paul (?), S. Paul teaching in the synagogue.	(1) Conversion of S. Paul. Spanish troops at Prato in 1512 below.
	(2) Coronation of the Virgin.
(1) Preaching of S. Paul at Athens. "Constellations" at the side. Scenes from the life of S. Paul below.	(1) Death of Ananias. Theological virtues at the side. Return of Giovanni dei Medici as Cardinal to Florence.

(1) (a fragment) Elymas struck with blindness.	
(2) Presentation in the Temple.	(2) Massacre of the Innocents.
(2) Nativity.	
(2) Ascension.	(2) Massacre of the Innocents.
(2) Adoration of the Magi.	(2) Christ gives the command to S. Peter, "Feed my sheep."
(2) Resurrection.	
(2) Descent of the Holy Spirit.	(2) Religion seated on a globe.

Castle of S. Angelo

The castle of S. Angelo was originally built as a tomb for the Emperor Hadrian, and like many other ancient monuments, such as the ruins on the Palatine and the theatre of Marcellus, it became in later times one of the strong places by means of which political control over the city was enforced. During the wars of the sixth century, when Rome was taken and retaken by Byzantine and Barbarian, it was frequently the last refuge of the besieged, as, for instance, in the year 537, when the Greeks beat off the Goths by throwing down upon them the statues with which the mausoleum had been ornamented. For many centuries after the times of the Goths the building was known as the prison of Theodoric; its present name arose from a miracle-worker in the time of Pope Gregory the Great, although it does not seem to have been used until three centuries after the event. When Gregory was elected Pope the city had never recovered from the devastation of the Gothic wars; the surrounding country was a waste, the peasants had fled from the fields, only a remnant remained within the walls. Portents of evil, such as the fiery swords in the sky, which had heralded the coming of the Lombards, confused the minds of men: the anger of heaven was manifested in earthquakes and in famine. Pestilence

had carried off Pope Pelagius, and the stricken inhabitants saw in Gregory their only refuge. This man was a member of the house of the Anicii, from whence an Emperor and a Pope had already sprung. He was the most famous successor of St. Benedict, and as Prefect he had already fulfilled the highest function of citizenship. His first care was to invoke Divine aid against the plague: he ordered all the people—men, women, and children—to gather at various churches; thence they went to S. Maria Maggiore, and then in one long procession, headed by the Pope-elect, they marched to S. Peter's. As they approached the bridge over the Tiber the archangel Michael appeared over the tomb of Hadrian, in the act of sheathing his flaming sword, in token that the prayers of the people had been heard.

In the early part of the tenth century the castle was in the hands of the family of Theophylact, and it was here that his daughter Marozia held her court.

The party of the nobles, headed by the grandson and great-grandson of Theophylact, retained its hold on the city throughout the first half of the tenth century. After the revival of imperial influence under Otto the Great (961) the nobles were for a time held in check; there were, however, constant revolts against the German party, and towards the end of the century the family of the Crescentii (probably connected with the descendants of Theophylact) led the National party. In one of the risings Pope Benedict VI was strangled in the castle of S. Angelo. In the last years of the tenth century Otto III, grandson of Otto the Great, raised his cousin to the Papacy as Gregory V. In the Emperor's absence the Pope was driven from the city, and was only able to re-enter Rome with the army of Otto. Crescentius held the castle of S. Angelo against the Pope and the Emperor; it was taken by assault, and Crescentius was hanged.

In the earlier time of the great schism (1387–1439) the castle of S. Angelo was for a time the stronghold of the French party. The Romans in their anger against the foreigners dismantled the building as far as they could,

and twenty years later it was rebuilt by Boniface IX, in furtherance of his policy for subjugating the city.

During the reign of Alexander VI (1492–1503) some of the papal apartments were painted by Pinturicchio, but the work has perished. In the reign of Clement VII the castle was the scene of the most terrible tragedy that has befallen the city since the days of the Vandals. An army of Germans and Spaniards under the Constable Bourbon attacked the Leonine city on 6 May, 1527. The Constable was shot early in the day, but the army was victorious, and Clement VII had to fly for refuge to the castle. *Benvenuto Cellini* describes how he took charge of some of the guns, and in his "enthusiasm strove to achieve the impossible," so that according to his own account he saved the castle. The sack of the city lasted for eight days, and for a month the Pope was imprisoned in the castle. Cellini was employed to melt down the gold setting of the papal jewels, and to sew the jewels into the clothing of Clement, and of one of his servants. Many years after, this led to an accusation that Benvenuto had stolen some of the precious stones, and he was imprisoned in the Castle by Paul III, who assigned the claim against the prisoner to his son, Pier Luigi Farnese. The tale of how Cellini managed to let himself down from the tower, how he broke his leg in getting over the outer wall, how he was again imprisoned, with what wondrous visions he was comforted, and how he finally escaped from the cupidity of the Farnese, are all told in his autobiography.

To the left of the entrance a small museum has been arranged containing some fragments of sculpture, and various plans showing suggested restorations of the tomb as it was originally built. On entering the building the visitor at first descends between walls of huge masonry, and then ascends by an inclined plane lighted by electricity. The original chamber of the tomb is crossed on a bridge, and after passing the prison of Cagliostro a small courtyard is reached where the statue of S. Michael, by Raffaello da Montelupo, which once stood on the top of the castle, is preserved. To the left are the Papal

apartments; in the first room the chimney-piece is carved with the bees of the Barberini. The dining-room of Paul III is decorated with frescoes in the Pompeian manner, attributed to Giulio Romano. From another small courtyard the prison cells, associated with the names of Benvenuto Cellini, Beatrice Cenci and her mother, and Giordano Bruno, are reached. From this court a stair leads to the loggia of Paul III, whence there is a fine view towards Monte Mario. Another stair leads up to a large room known as the torture-chamber: it is decorated with pictures in the Pompeian style, attributed to Pierino della Vaga. Next to it is the papal treasury, still containing some iron-bound boxes, on one of which is the name of Julius II. A narrow winding stair leads to the upper platform of the castle, whence there is a fine view over Rome and down the valley of the Tiber. From the "torture chamber" the visitor descends to the hall of the Tribunal, decorated by Pierino della Vaga. At one end is a picture of the Emperor Hadrian; on the side walls are the four cardinal virtues; and in one corner is a portrait said to represent the advocate of Beatrice Cenci. The hall of Perseus, and a sleeping chamber, both near to the Tribunal, have friezes painted by Pierino della Vaga. From the Tribunal the visitor reaches the loggia of Julius II, and descends by an open staircase.

S. PETER'S

may be reached by trams which start at the railway station and pass along the Via Nazionale, the piazza Venezia, and the Corso Vittorio Emmanuele, to the piazza of S. Peter's; or by trams starting from the Piazza Venezia and reaching the piazza by way of the Prati di Castello; or by a line from the Piazza di Spagna.

St. Peter's stands on the site of the gardens and circus of the Emperor Caligula. This was also the place chosen by Nero in A.D. 64 for the punishment of the Christians, whom he accused of having caused the fire which de-

stroyed a large part of Rome. Some were thrown to wild beasts, some were crucified, others were made to enact tragedies in which the fate of the hero was played out in grim reality ; and at nightfall victims were clad in inflammable stuffs, fastened to posts, and lighted up so that the charioteers might see their way in the darkness.

It was in this place that S. Peter, according to tradition, suffered in the year 67 A.D. The obelisk which now stands in the piazza in front of the church stood at that time in the circus, and at the foot of this obelisk he was crucified. The visitor in going round S. Peter's to the museum entrance passes close by the place just before passing under the sacristies. Pope Anacletus is said to have built a memorial chapel near the spot ; it consisted of two storeys, and it still forms the core of the building in which the body of S. Peter is buried.

The old Church of S. Peter's was, according to tradition, one of those founded by Constantine. The Emperor, it is said, gave help by carrying twelve baskets full of earth from the foundation, in honour of the apostles ; he also placed a cross of gold on the tomb of S. Peter, where it is still supposed to lie.

The Church of Constantine probably bore a general resemblance to the type of basilica such as may still be seen at Ravenna. It had a wooden roof, the nave walls were carried on an architrave supported by pillars, the number of these throughout the church were set down at one hundred, and had been gathered together from older buildings, so that neither pillars nor capitals were uniform. There were two aisles on each side of the nave, as we see at S. Paul beyond the walls to-day. The tribune was raised above the level of the nave in order that the altar might be placed above the roof of the tomb of S. Peter, and it was reached by flights of steps on each side of the tomb. The entrance to the Confession was on the level of the nave, and it was fenced about by pillars and marble screens.

Pope Damascus is supposed to have built a baptistery

in the year 366, and it is said that he placed in it the chair of S. Peter, which is now preserved within the huge bronze reliquary of Bernini at the western end of the present church.

S. Gregory the Great (590–604) made the ciborium over the high altar and covered the pillars with plates of silver. Honorius I (625–40) covered the central door with silver, from which it received the name of Argentea. At the beginning of the eighth century Pope John VII (705–8) built a chapel in honour of the Virgin. The walls were covered with mosaics, showing Madonna with the Pope at her right hand, S. Peter preaching, the fall of Simon Magus, the deaths of SS. Peter and Paul, and a history of the life of Christ. All that has survived is a fragment showing part of the design for the adoration of the Magi, now in the sacristy of S. Maria in Cosmedin. A few years later Gregory III (731–41) built a chapel for relics, and covered the walls with paintings. Towards the end of the eighth century Adrian I (772–95) presented a great candelabrum or Pharos, lighted with more than 1300 candles. In addition to these larger works, one Pope after another added decorations of silver and gold plates and adornments of all kinds, so that the interior of the church in which Charles the Great was crowned blazed with the flash of jewels and precious metals. It is said that at one time there were as many as one hundred and nine altars in S. Peter's.

The atrium in front of the church was approached by a flight of thirty-five steps. It had two fountains, one of which was adorned with the famous Pine Cone, still preserved in one of the courts of the Vatican. The atrium was used as a place in which to feed the poor at festivals. There were stalls also where pilgrims might buy food, and others where objects of devotion were sold. The walls of the atrium were adorned with pictures, and in the course of centuries the Popes were buried within its precincts. The area of the atrium was paved by Pope Domnus (676–78) with blocks of marble.

The desire to be buried near S. Peter was so strong that the Emperors of the fifth century built two circular

chapels on the south side of the church. In the sixteenth century Imperial tombs were found, including amongst others that of Maria, wife of the Emperor Honorius. In later times the body of Petronilla, as the supposed daughter of S. Peter, was brought from the catacombs and laid in one of these tomb chapels, which was afterwards known by her name; it was destroyed in the sixteenth century. The other of the two rotundas was known as S. Maria della Febbre; it was used as a sacristy, and was only destroyed in the time of Pius VI (1775–1800).

Besides these ancient tombs the church was in the course of time surrounded by monasteries, churches, and buildings, that formed the beginnings of the Vatican palace.

The magnificent decorations of the church as they existed at the time of the coronation of Charles were destroyed by the Saracens, who in 846 sacked the churches of SS. Peter and Paul, and carried away all the gold and silver and precious stones. To prevent a recurrence of such dangers Leo IV (847–57) built a wall enclosing S. Peter's and connecting it with the river and the fortifications of Rome: hence arose the Leonine city. So great was the ecclesiastical wealth of the time, that within a comparatively short period the Popes were able to re-establish the church in most of its ancient glory.

During the long contests between Emperors and Popes S. Peter's frequently became the prize of the conqueror, as, for instance, when after the death of Gregory VII the Normans laid siege to the church and drove out the Antipope Clement III. The latter was forced to withdraw to the Pantheon, and the Norman candidate was consecrated as Victor III in St. Peter's. In 1167 Frederick Barbarossa encamped against the Leonine city: the church was entrenched and held out for eight days, the garrison only yielding lest the church should be burned. Once again S. Peter's was the scene of an incident in the bitter struggle which was continued by Barbarossa's grandson Frederick II. In 1240 Pope Gregory IX, being hard pressed, caused the heads of

SS. Peter and Paul to be laid on the altar, and taking the mitre from his head he put it on the relics and called on the saints to defend Rome. In little more than a year after, the Pope died at a great age. The man passed away, but his spirit remained and inspired the victory, which the Papacy won within the next generation.

The original church of Constantine was partly built on the structures of Caligula's Circus. The southern wall, and the lines of pillars dividing the aisles on that side of the building, were founded on ancient masonry, and to this is attributed the condition into which the church fell in the fifteenth century. It is said that pilgrims at the jubilee of 1450 were struck by the dangerous settlement of the fabric. However that may have been, the plan for a new church was in accordance with the ambitious dreams of Nicholas V, and the building was determined on. The imagination of this humanist Pope was fired by the vision of a city of palaces occupying the Borgo, in which he and his court might be housed with a magnificence equal to their state.

New S. Peter's

The Atrium. At the foot of the steps which lead to the vestibule the visitor has, on his right, a statue of S. Paul, and on the left S. Peter. The figures of these two apostles, which formerly stood in front of the old basilica, are now in the vestibule leading to the sacristies. On the upper balcony of the façade there is a statue of Christ bearing the cross with the apostles ranged on either side. Over the central entrance is a relief representing the giving of the keys to Peter.

On entering the atrium the great bronze doors at once strike the attention. Pope Eugenius IV commissioned *Filarete* to design them, and with the assistance of *Simone Ghini* they were finished in 1445. In the upper part the large panels contain figures of Christ and Madonna. In the middle is S. Paul with a sword, and S. Peter giving the keys to Eugenius IV; in the lower

panels the martyrdoms of SS. Peter and Paul. Between these large panels are small reliefs showing the attempts made by Pope Eugenius IV to unite the Eastern and Western Churches. In the upper row, beginning to the left (1) the Emperor John Paleologus and his attendants set out for the Council of Ferrara. (2) They are introduced to the Pope. (3) Sitting of the Council. (4) The Eastern Emperor returns. The lower row refers to the Council of Florence. To the left (1) Journey of the Eastern visitors. (2) Coronation of the Emperor Sigismond. (3) Council of Florence, where the union of the churches was nominally effected. (4) Visit of the Eastern Churchmen to Rome.

If the visitor who has examined the bronze door turns round and looks up into the lunette over the outer gate he will see a representation of *Giotto's* famous mosaic of the Ship of the Church. It was restored in 1674, and has lost all its original character. The mosaic was placed in the atrium of the old basilica, so that when simple people, following the ancient custom, turned to look at the sun as they entered the church, they were met by this symbol of human salvation. It is told of more than one eminent Churchman that he never entered S. Peter's without a prayer that he might be saved from sin as S. Peter had been from the waves.

To the extreme right of the vestibule there is a statue of Constantine (seen on the stairs by which visitors reach the Vatican collections), and to the left a statue of Charles the Great. There are five doors into the church, including the Porta Santa used in the years of jubilee.

Monuments and Pictures in the New Church of St. Peter's.

(See plan No. xv).

A Atrium or vestibule.
B Capella della Pietà.
C Capella del Crocifisso.
D Capella di S. Sebastiano.
E Capella del Sacramento.
F Capella Gregoriana.

G Right transept.
H Capella di S. Michele Arcangelo.
K Tribune.
L Capella della Colonna.
M Left transept.
N Entry to sacristies and Treasury.
O Capella Clementina.
P Capella del Coro.
Q Capella della Presentazione.
R Staircase for the Dome.
S Baptistry.

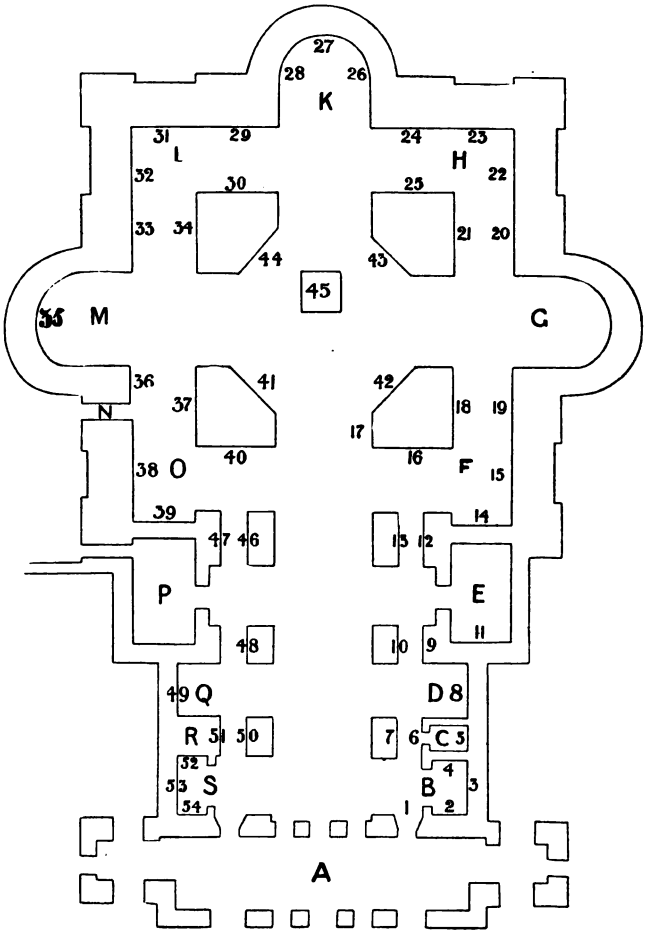
The following list includes most of the monuments and pictures in S. Peter's. A few of the most important are described. For the most part the traveller who has no special or professional interest in view will not find that they need occupy much of his time. The figures refer to plan No. xv.

(1) Mosaic of S. Peter over the Porta Santa. In the Capella della Pietà (B on the plan).

(2) A column which, according to tradition, was brought from the Temple at Jerusalem.

(3) Pietà, by *Michael Angelo.* The pietà was sculptured in 1498, when Michael Angelo was about twenty-four years old; it at once revealed him as one of the great artists of his time. The present setting of the group is unfortunate; it would be difficult adequately to convey the calamitous effect of the putti, who hold a crown over the head of the Madonna; the enormous size of the architectural surroundings also unduly dwarfs the group. The figure of Madonna gives a satisfactory conception of physical strength, sufficient to bear its burden. The firm grasp of the right hand, the broad shoulders, the widely spread knees, the colossal folds of the drapery, stand out in contrast to the delicate and refined form of Christ, passive and powerless except in its weight, and yet expressive of the spirit that has fled. Madonna is comparatively girlish and undeveloped; the rhetorical gesture of the hand alone gives a direct clue to the mother's feeling. Michael Angelo has trusted to the de-

sign as a whole to give clearness to the wider and deeper significance of the composition. The effect is obtained by a subtle synthesis of the human form in all its rela-



Plan xv. S. Peters.

tions, and not by the exaggeration of gesture and emotion which the artists of all schools had hitherto used in depicting the Deposition, the Entombment, and kindred scenes. The art of the Sistine roof is already implicit in this sculpture. It marks the achievement of a new means of artistic expression, having the same kind of importance as that which signalized the works of Giotto at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and those of Masaccio in the early part of the fifteenth.

(4) To the left hand, in the Capella della Pietà, is the sarcophagus of Anicius Probus.

(5) In the Capella Crocefisso (C on the plan) there is a Crucifix attributed to *Pietro Cavallini*. The feet are nailed together, the head bears the crown of thorns, and the figure is closely realized.

(6) Over the entrance of the chapel is the monument of Leo XII.

(7) Monument to Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–89), daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. After resigning her crown, Queen Christina was received into the Roman Church, and her later life was spent in Rome. She was the disciple or patroness of many eminent men of her time, Descartes himself being numbered amongst her friends. Her library was bought by the Pope, and some of her MSS. are among the most interesting in the Vatican collection.

(8) In the Capella di S. Sebastiano (D on the plan) there is a mosaic of the martyrdom of the saint after a picture by Domenichino.

(9) Monument of Innocent XII.

(10) Monument to the Countess Matilda, designed by *Bernini*. The Countess, who died in 1115, represented the family ruling in Tuscany, as Imperial Vicars; she also inherited fiefs in Lombardy and Umbria, so that her estates reached from Mantua to the neighbourhood of Perugia. In the quarrels between the Church and the Empire at the end of the eleventh century she sided with Gregory VII against the Emperor Henry IV. It was in her Castle of Canossa that the latter humbled himself before the Pope. At her death she left her estates

to the papacy, a legacy that produced much evil in Italy.

(11) In the Capella del Sacramento (E on the plan) the most interesting monument is that made by *Antonio Pollajuolo* in memory of Sixtus IV. Francesco della Rovere had been general of the Franciscan Order; in 1467 he became a cardinal, and in 1471 he was elected Pope. His life up to his accession is said to have been that of a man fond of learning, austere and blameless. As Pope he earned an evil reputation as one of the great nepotists. Piero, his first favourite nephew, died after a short and violent career. His brother Girolamo then became the Pope's favourite; he was one of the prime movers in the Pazzi Conspiracy against Lorenzo dei Medici and his brother Giuliano. When Sixtus was consulted, he is supposed to have said, "Go and do what you will, but no lives shall be lost." The will of the conspirators was not so simply accomplished. Lorenzo (the Magnificent) was wounded, Giuliano was murdered before the altar in the duomo at Florence, the Archbishop of Pisa and Francesco de Pazzi were hanged from the windows of the Palazzo Vecchio by the enraged Florentines. The Pope issued a Bull of excommunication, and when through fear of the Turks, peace was made, Sixtus, seated in the atrium of S. Peter's, received the Florentines, who kneeled and kissed his foot; then the door of the church was opened, and they all went to Mass.

The monument of Sixtus IV differs in form from the other memorials in S. Peter's. The figure lies stiffly stretched in papal costume; the uncompromising bronze lends itself to the strongly marked profile of the rigid Franciscan, narrow-minded, self-willed, and vigorous. Antonio Pollajuolo was commissioned by the Cardinal Giuliano (Julius II), and the tomb was finished in 1493. On the top of the tomb, closely surrounding the recumbent figure, are the virtues; to the left Faith, Prudence, and Fortitude; to the right Hope, Temperance, and Justice. On the curved sides of the tomb are the Sciences; to the left Arithmetic, Astrology, and Dia-

lectic; to the right "Prospectiva," Music, and Geometry. At the head of the tomb the Sciences are summed up in Theology and Philosophy.

(12) Monument of Gregory XIII.

(13) Monument of Gregory XIV.

(14) Monument of Gregory XVI.

(15) Madonna del Soccorso. A painting attributed to the twelfth century. Underneath is the tomb of S. Gregory Nazianzen (*d.* 391), whose body was brought here from Constantinople.

(16) Mosaic copy of S. Jerome's communion, by *Domenichino.*

(17) Seated figure of S. Peter. The somewhat untrustworthy tradition is, that when Pope Leo the Great returned from his mission to Attila he caused the bronze statue of Jupiter on the capitol to be cast into this figure of S. Peter as a thank-offering for the guardianship of the apostle whose appearance in the sky had stopped the advance of the barbarian king. The form of the keys is said to be decisive of a much more modern origin. The story, whether true or not, is interesting as showing how easily the popular imagination accepted the change from classical to ecclesiastical Rome.

(18) Mosaic. S. Basil celebrating Mass before the Emperor Valens.

(19) Monument of Benedict XIV.

Right transept. It was here that the Council of 1869–70 sat.

(20) Monument of Clement XIII.

(21) Altar of the Navicella.

(22) Mosaic, after Guido Reni's picture of the archangel Michael.

(23) Entombment of S. Petronilla, a copy of Guercino's picture in the palace of the Conservators.

(24) Monument of Clement X.

(25) Mosaic. S. Peter raising Tabitha.

Passing into the Tribune, K on the plan.

(26) Monument of Urban VIII, by *Bernini.* This tomb and that of Alexander VII (33 on the plan) throw

a strange light on the type of religious feeling in the seventeenth century. They thrust upon us the idea of man's mortality in its most hideous aspect; they insist on the physical change wrought by death. Compare for a moment such monuments as these, with the sixth-century tombs at Ravenna, where the vines, the peacocks, the garlands, are symbols of how death is touched with the breath of immortality; or again, such tombs as those of the Cardinal Anchera at S. Prassede (thirteenth century), or of Cardinal Fortiguerra at S. Cecilia (fifteenth century), suggesting, as they do, noble souls who have made the voyage of life and have come to "port with all sweetness and with all peace."

(27) A huge bronze casting, forming a reliquary for the chair of S. Peter. Like the tomb of Urban VIII, this is also the work of *Bernini* (1589–1680). The monument rests on the four doctors of the Latin Church. The work is only noteworthy as an example of Roman taste in the seventeenth century, and of the capacity of the artist.

(28) Monument of Paul III. The two marble statues in the lower part of the design are famous.

(29) Monument of Alexander VIII.

(30) Mosaic. S. Peter curing the lame man.

(31) Altar of Leo the Great. Above is a relief showing how the Pope turned back Attila when he was marching on Rome.

(32) Beneath the altar is an ancient sarcophagus containing the bones of Popes Leo II, Leo III, and Leo IV.

(33) Monument of Alexander VII by *Bernini*. See the note on the tomb of Urban VIII.

(34) Mosaic. Fall of Simon Magus.

(35) At the end of the left transept (marked **M** on the plan) Palestrina (1524 (?)–1594), the reformer of church music, was buried.

(36) Over the entrance to the sacristies is the monument of Pius VIII.

(37) Mosaic. Death of Ananias and Sapphira.

(38) Tomb of Gregory the Great. Over it is repre-

sented the miracle of the Brandeum. This was the name given to a cloth which had been in contact with a relic. The ambassador of the Lombard Queen Theodolinda, a convert from Arianism, refused to receive such a cloth as a relic of the apostles. Gregory cut it with a knife, and blood issued from it, and thus its virtue was proved.

(39) Monument of Pius VII, by *Thorswalden.*

(40) Copy of Raphael's Transfiguration. Note the four immense piers supporting the dome; within them are preserved four relics of peculiar sanctity.

(41) Head of S. Andrew. Below is a statue of the apostle. This relic was brought to Rome in the time of Pius II (1458–64), when the Turks conquered the Morea. It was carried through the streets with extraordinary ceremony, and the Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia (Alexander VI) outdid every one in welcoming it to Rome.

(42) The Sacred Lance. And below a statue of S. Longinus. Prince Djem, son of Mohammed II, was defeated by his brother Bajazet in the war of succession, and ultimately he became a ward of Pope Innocent VIII, to whom the sultan paid a large sum to insure the pretender's safe keeping. To seal his friendship with the Pope, Bajazet sent the sacred lance to Rome. It was received with great ceremony in the Church of S. Maria del Popolo, and carried in solemn procession to S. Peter's.

(43) Relic of the true cross with the statue of S. Helena below.

(44) The relic of S. Veronica; i.e. the linen cloth on which was imprinted the figure and face of Christ. The Emperor Tiberius, having fallen ill, heard that in Jerusalem there was one who could cure all maladies. When his messenger came to Pilate he knew that it was Christ who was sought. In the meanwhile the messenger found Veronica, who said that the image she had would suffice. She went to Rome, and as soon as the Emperor had seen the picture and worshipped, he was cured.

(45) The tomb of S. Peter is in the crypt below the high altar. At the bottom of the steps leading to it there is a figure of Pius VI (1775–99) kneeling in prayer, by *Canova*. The baldacchino is from the design of Bernini. Part of the bronze used in the casting was taken from the roof of the entrance to the Pantheon.

Returning to the left aisle.

(46) Monument of Innocent XI.

(47) Monument of Leo XI.

Passing by the entrance to the Capella del Coro (marked **P** on the plan).

(48) Monument of Innocent VIII by *Antonio Pollajuolo*, finished in 1498. In the lower part the dead Pope is laid on the sarcophagus. Above he is seated grasping the sacred lance. Over his head are the theological virtues—Charity, with Faith and Hope. At the sides are the moral virtues—Justice and Fortitude to the spectator's left; Temperance and Prudence to the right. The design is not so striking as that of the monument to Sixtus IV, nor can the mean and indeterminate features of Innocent be compared with those of his vigorous predecessor.

(49) Mosaic copy of a picture of the Presentation of the Virgin.

(50) Monument to members of the Stuart family, including James (1688–1766) the old pretender; also his sons Charles Edward (1720–88), the young pretender, and Henry Benedict (1725–1807), Cardinal of York.

(51) Monument to Maria Clementina Sobiesky, wife of James (the old pretender), and granddaughter of King John Sobiesky.

In the baptistery (marked **S** on the plan) there are three pictures.

(53) Mosaic of the Baptism of Christ. To the right (52) the Baptism of the Centurion, and to the left (54) S. Peter baptizing the gaoler. The font formed part of the sarcophagus in which the Emperor Otto II was buried.

The Building of the Church

The new Leonine city which floated before the imagination of Pope Nicholas had as its centre a Church with a great dome. Two Florentine architects, Alberti (1405–72) and Rosellino (1409–64), were consulted, and the practical work was carried out by the latter. The old church was allowed to stand, and the foundations of the apse of the new church were built around it. When Nicholas V died in 1455 the masonry had only been carried a few feet high, and so it remained for the next fifty years. Each succeeding Pope had his own schemes to forward, and it was not till the early years of the sixteenth century, when Julius II (1503–13) had become Pope, that any real advance was made.

It is supposed that the need of some fitting place for the great tomb which the Pope had commissioned Michael Angelo to make, led to the revival of the plan for a new S. Peter's.

Bramante was appointed as architect, and on 18 April, 1506, Julius II laid the foundation-stone of the new church. The tomb of S. Peter was left in its original place, and while the works were carried on at one end of the church, the other was left in use, and it was not till 1606 that the eastern end of the nave of the ancient building was destroyed, and not until 1616 was the new building seen in its entire plan. Bramante worked at the new S. Peter's till 1514, and before he died he recommended Pope Leo X (1513–22) to appoint Raphael as his successor. Fra Giocondo, of Verona (1435–1515), and Guiliano da San Gallo (1445–1516) were deputed to help him; both were old men, and after their deaths Antonio da San Gallo (1485–1546) was appointed. Raphael died in 1520, and Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1537) became the colleague of Antonio. After the death of Peruzzi, Antonio da San Gallo was the sole architect until his death in 1546. Paul III appointed as his successor Michael Angelo, who continued the work till his death in 1564. He was succeeded by Vignola (1507–73). The building did not prosper after the death of Michael Angelo until the accession of Pope

Sixtus V (1585–90), a man with a fiery temper, and an energy equal to that of Julius II himself. Giacomo della Porta (1541–1604) and Domenico Fontana (1543–1607) were appointed as architects, and on the death of Porta he was succeeded by Carlo Maderno (1556–1629). Maderno finished the façade in 1614, and the church was consecrated by Urban VIII in 1626. After the death of Maderno in 1629 Bernini (1589–1680) was appointed to build towers to complete the design of the façade, the foundations proved insufficient, and owing to his want of success Borromini (1599–1667) was nominated. Amongst other things this architect designed the colossal infants that support the holy-water vessels. Alexander VII (1655–67) re-employed Bernini, and to him we owe the colonnades of the Piazza which were finished about 1667.

Throughout all the changes which happened it was the genius of Bramante that gave its special character to the building; his plans were so far laid during the first eight years that his spirit dominated the whole future of the church. Vasari says that not even Michael Angelo would have been equal to the task of making the building more imposing. In two main points only did the successors of Bramante make essential changes. Pope Paul V and his architect Maderno lengthened the nave and added the façade, while Michael Angelo raised the dome on a great drum instead of leaving it like the dome of the Pantheon as Bramante had proposed. When the dome actually came to be built, instead of the semicircular form which Michael Angelo intended, della Porta or Fontana altered the outline to a "curve born of feeling and of a flash of genius." It was under these architects that the dome was finished, so that Sixtus V in 1590 was able to celebrate the finishing of the base for the lantern. During the Papacy of Clement VIII (1592–1605) the lantern was built, the cross having been placed on the summit in November, 1593.

The new church of S. Peter's represents the outcome of a time when the thoughts and emotions of men were naturally expressed by means of painting, sculpture,

and architecture. Although not the most perfect, it was the crowning act of the revival of learning; and yet with all these advantages it has never appealed to men in any general and inevitable way. It has been said that the "church is vast without being great." No one can realize how large it is, and the artistic effect which may be produced by size is lost. The piers of the nave, for instance, are so few in number, and so large, that the eye fails to appreciate the space which is covered. Again, it is objected that owing to the length of the nave, the effect of the dome is lost. The original plan of Bramante to which Michael Angelo tried to revert would have obviated this. Had it been carried out, however, we should have lost something in the effect within the church.

The visitor will, no doubt, be struck by the cold grey colour of the interior; it is an example of the chilly effects which found favour with the cinquecento artists. Monochrome was supposed to add to the dignity, the gravity, and the impressiveness of the monumental style at which they aimed, brilliancy and gaiety were out of fashion. Thus, although there is within S. Peter's an immense quantity of most beautiful marble, and although the wall spaces are filled with mosaics and pictures, the general effect is frigid and colourless, so that even an Italian sun hardly serves to dispel the chill sense of a leaden atmosphere.

The huge monuments built in memory of the Popes of the last three or four hundred years, and the busts of the early Popes on the piers are alike destructive of the simplicity and dignity which Bramante aimed at in his general design. The same remark applies to the sculpture which has been placed over the arches of the nave. Nor does the design of the Baldacchino and of the enormous reliquary in which the chair of S. Peter is preserved at the west end of the church do anything to relieve the melancholy conclusion that the Italian artist had lost his cunning when these things were made. The architecture and the sculpture of the sixteenth century in Rome is always interesting; it is sometimes refined,

it is generally either grandiose or magnificent, but it is not a truly organic growth, nourished in a wholesome tradition.

The same writer who said that S. Peter's is "vast without being great" adds that it is "magnificent without touching the heart." This raises other questions than the more or less purely artistic ones that have been suggested.

If the visitor from north of the Alps looks for anything that will deepen his religious emotion or increase his sense of Christian humility, such as he is accustomed to find at Chartres or Amiens, he will be disappointed. The artists of the time of the revival of learning did not try to create an atmosphere suitable to the mystic relationships which lay at the foundation of mediæval life. They were more concerned with the perfect man in the perfect state according to Plato, than with the ecstasy of S. Francis on Monte La Vernia. They were weary alike of the moral ideals involved in asceticism, and of the intellectual outlook implied in scholasticism. They felt that human life had wider and more vital relations than could be expressed in the theological thought of the time. They saw that intellectual activity, when freed from mediæval pre-suppositions, opened a new way to human development. They desired insight rather than edification. It was the dignity of man, not the poverty of the creature, that inspired them. And thus S. Peter's became something quite different from the Church of the Sacro Speco at Subiaco, or that dedicated in the name of S. Francis at Assisi.

S. Peter's is the capitol of Western Christendom, the senate house of papal civilization; it is the symbol of the succession of the Church to the inheritance of the Empire: it is an embodiment of the idea of the Roman Imperium. In so far as the building is an expression of religious life, it received in its final form the impress of what has been called the Catholic reaction. It is the power of the keys and not the travail of soul that impresses us.

The sacristies of St. Peter's are entered from the left aisle and near the left transept. In the corridor are statues of SS. Peter and Paul, which stood at the entrance of the ancient basilica; these sculptures are attributed to *Mino da Fiesole.* Farther on there are statues of Benediet XIII and Paul V.

The general sacristy, octagonal in form, has eight fluted columns brought from Hadrian's villa. Over the clock there is a bronze cock saved from the destruction of the old church.

The sacristy of the Canons opens out of the general sacristy. In it to the left stands a gilt bust of S. Peter on a column of alabaster. We pass from the sacristy to the chapel of the Canons, in which there are the following pictures: Madonna and Child with S. John, by *Giulio Romano;* Madonna and Child with SS. Anna, Peter, and Paul, by *Francesco Penni.*

The Stanze Capitolare opens out of the sacristy of the Canons. In this room there are preserved some pictures attributed to *Giotto.* In the central panel Christ is enthroned, and on the back of the picture S. Peter, also enthroned, is represented. To the right another panel has on the front the crucifixion of S. Peter, and on the back SS. John the Baptist and Andrew. To the left of the central panel there is a similar picture of the martyrdom of S. Paul, with SS. James and Paul on the back. These pictures were painted by *Giotto* probably about the year 1300, to the order of Cardinal Stefaneschi, who appears as donor. There are three other panels of the same character; the first represents Madonna and Child attended by two angels and two apostles; on each of the others are five apostles. There are also in this room two small frames with ivories, said to have been taken from the chair of S. Peter. One of these has Christ in the midst of five figures giving the blessing in the Greek manner; to the right and left stand Madonna and S. John the Baptist. The chair of S. Peter, now in the church, is believed by some to be the curule chair of Pudens used by Peter.

It was examined in 1867, with the result that there

appears to be an ancient chair of oak, which has been repaired with acacia wood. It is fitted with rings, so that it might be borne on men's shoulders, and it is decorated with carvings in ivory. Like the material of the chair, these carvings belong to different epochs. The oldest are a series of ivories on the front of the chair mainly concerned with the labours of Hercules; those which are fixed to the acacia wood are described generally as being Byzantine in style; they have been assigned to the ninth century. The examples preserved in the Sala Capitolare probably belong to this part of the chair.

Several well-known fragments of the frescoes which *Melozzo da Forli* (1438–1494) painted for the church of SS. Apostoli hang on the walls.

In the sacristy of the Beneficiati there is a gilt statuette of S. Paul. In the chapel attached there is a ciborium by *Donatello*, enclosing the picture known as Madonna della Febbre, attributed to *Simone Martini*.

The most important object in **the Treasury** is the magnificent dalmatic which hangs in the first case opposite to the entrance door. According to tradition, this tunic was worn at the coronation of Charles the Great, either by the Pope, Leo III, or by the Emperor himself, and is described as work of the ninth century. Didron, however, is of the opinion that the dalmatic, which is of the Latin shape, with short sleeves, was embroidered by Greek workmen, probably in the twelfth century. He also recalls the fact that dalmatics were worn by kings and emperors during the coronation service, when they stood at the side of the officiating Pope, in the quality of deacons. In 1347 Cola di Rienzi, the Tribune, rode into the sacristy of S. Peter's, and caused himself to be clothed in the Imperial dalmatic above his armour.

Apart from the question of ownership, however, this dalmatic is of interest in itself. The subjects embroidered upon it are treated in the mystical, abstract, and non-naturalistic manner of the Byzantine artists, and the design worked chiefly in gold and silver thread, upon a soft blue background, is beautiful and effective. On

the front is the scene of Christ enthroned in judgment. Christ has a young, oval, beardless face. He holds an open book with the words from Matthew xxv. 34: "Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for ye since the creation of the world." Beside His head are the words, also in Greek: "Jesus Christ, the Resurrection and the life." At the corners are the symbols of the evangelists; and a circle is formed round about by the choirs of angels and by the hosts of the elect, in the starry firmament of heaven. Below, in the corners, Paradise is symbolized by the figure of Abraham, on the left, receiving the souls in his bosom; and on the right by the penitent thief carrying the cross. It may be noticed that the crosses on this vestment are of the form commonly used by the Byzantines, with the transverse bar, above the head, for the superscription. On the shoulders of the tunic are two scenes of Christ giving the bread and wine of the Eucharist to His disciples. To the left are the words: "Take eat," and on the right: "Drink ye all of it." On the reverse is the scene of the Transfiguration, described by the Greek word "Metamorphosis." The mystery is expressed by red rays which pass from the figure of Christ to Moses and Elias on pinnacles of equal height, and down to the three disciples cowering below. Two small scenes represent Christ speaking to the three, before His ascent and after His return.

Two other dalmatics, worn by Leo XIII and his predecessor Pius IX, hang in glass cases in the centre of the room. Beside one of them is a beautiful chalice ornamented with precious stones, given by Cardinal York. Round the walls are immense cupboards, in which are preserved candlesticks, monstrances, and collections of silver altar-plate. Amongst these are candelabra designed by Michael Angelo, and candlesticks executed by Pollajuolo and Benvenuto Cellini. A number of ornaments are shown, including a clumsy tiara in barbarous style, rings, a jewelled cross and key, with which the bronze statue of S. Peter is adorned on the saint's day.

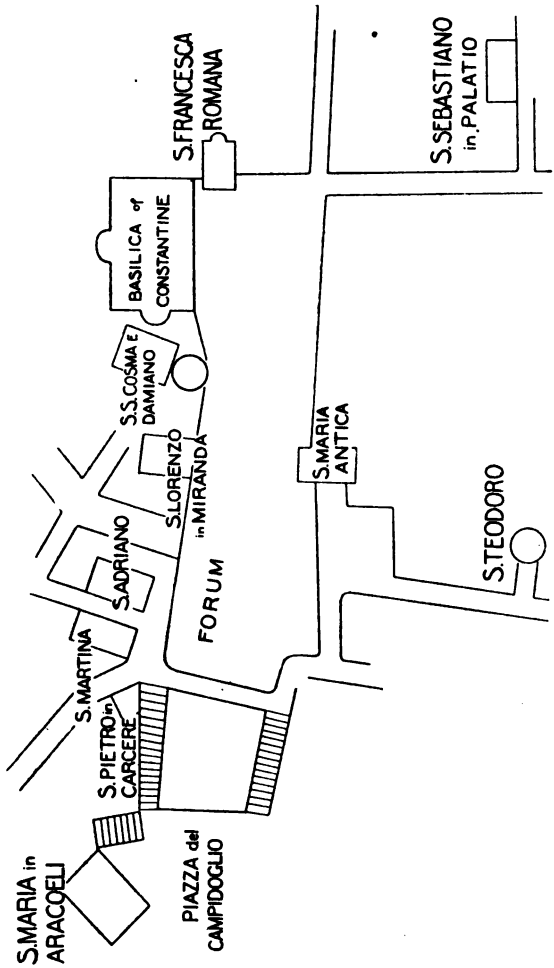
III

CHURCHES NEAR THE CAPITOL, THE PALATINE, AND THE FORUM

SS. Apostoli

THIS building, which is entirely modern, is raised on the site of an ancient church said to date from the time of Julius I (337–52). It was restored by Martin V (1417–24), who lived much in the Colonna palace, which occupies the space between the church and the Piazza Venezia. There have been many restorations since. In the eighteenth century it was largely rebuilt, and twice during the nineteenth century it has been restored. Julius II, when Cardinal della Rovere, built the portico in it. There are several interesting fragments, such as a lion carved with the name Bassalectus (a name which occurs on the marble work in the cloisters of S. John Lateran), and an eagle, a piece of antique sculpture, from the forum of Trajan. There are also some fragments of braided crosses.

The church is dedicated in the names of the apostles SS. Philip and James-the-Less. The building itself need not detain the visitor; it contains, however, tombs of some interest. In the choir to the left there is the tomb of Cardinal Pietro Riario, the nephew of Sixtus IV, one of the most prodigal of papal nephews; he died in 1474. The tomb is ascribed to the joint labour of *Mino da Fiesole* and *Andrea Bregno*. On the opposite side of the choir is the tomb of Cardinal Raffaele Riario, a grand-nephew of Sixtus IV. He was made a Cardinal at



CHURCHES NEAR THE CAPITOL, THE PALATINE, AND THE FORUM.

seventeen, and in the succeeding year he witnessed the murder of Giuliano dei Medici before the altar of the Duomo in Florence. It was for him that the palace of the Cancellaria was built, and he was concerned in the conspiracy against Leo X in 1517. The tomb of the Cardinal Raffaele is in the dull and correct style of the sixteenth century. A comparison with the tomb of the Cardinal Riario enables us to measure the change which passed over artistic expression during the later years of the fifteenth and the opening years of the sixteenth centuries.

At the end of the left aisle is the tomb of Clement XIV (1769–75). This was the Pope who "abolished and annuled the Society of Jesus." The general of the order, Lorenzo Ricci, was imprisoned in the castle of S. Angelo, and died there in 1775. The society was restored by Pope Pius VII in 1814.

In the **cloister** of SS. Apostoli, entered from the church or by a door at the side farthest from the Piazza Venezia, there are memorials to two remarkable persons —Cardinal Bessarion and Michael Angelo. Bessarion, Archbishop of Nicea, was one of the Eastern Churchmen who came to attend the Council which sat first at Ferrara and later at Florence (1438–9). Eugenius IV effected a formal reconciliation between East and West, and his success is celebrated on the bronze doors of S. Peter's. Bessarion was made a Cardinal in 1439. He was one of the most prominent scholars of his time, and became a powerful friend to the Humanists, who thronged the papal court. In the contest between Aristotelians and Platonists Bessarion took a leading part on the side of Plato. He presented his library to the republic of Venice.

Michael Angelo died in Rome on 18 February, 1564. His body was taken by the artists to SS. Apostoli, and there laid in a tomb. Vasari says that Michael Angelo had entreated to have his body taken to Florence, his most noble country, to which he had ever borne the tenderest affection. His nephew therefore had the body made up into a bale "such as is made by merchants,"

and in this manner it arrived in Florence. All the painters, sculptors, and architects carried the body at nightfall to S. Croce, and there it was buried. The memorial in the cloister of SS. Apostoli is the work of *Jacopo del Duca*

S. Marco

Under the shadow of the great tower of the Palazzo Venezia stands the Church of S. Marco, with a little square full of shrubs and palm trees in front. The mass of building, the round arched portico, and the fresh verdure of the garden together make one of the most picturesque corners in Rome.

The church is said to have been founded by Pope Mark I; but as he ruled only for a very short time, it seems probable that most of the work must date from the reign of his successor Julius I (337–52). The building was restored under Adrian (772–95), and again by Gregory IV (827–44), who placed the bodies of the Persian martyrs Abdon and Sennen under the altar, where they rest with relics of S. Mark the Evangelist and his namesake the Pope. While Paul II (1464–71) was building the Palazzo Venezia, the portico of the church was added. In it and over the central door there is a large seated figure of S. Mark in a setting of garlands borne by putti; he has the book of the gospel on his knee and the symbol of the Lion at his side. This building has been used as the national church of the Venetians in Rome, and there are many tombs of notable citizens of Venice within its walls.

In the interior of the church an unpleasant effect is produced by the Sicilian jasper, with which the columns were covered in the eighteenth century. The principal monument in the church is the **Mosaic** in the semidome; it is attributed to the papacy of Gregory IV. This is the last of the great mosaics which were made in Rome during the supremacy of the Karling Emperors, and while they were in alliance with the papacy. Peace between Emperor and Pope led to the undertaking of

much building, particularly during the reign of Adrian I (772–95). The rule of Paschal I (817–24) is notable for the execution of several large schemes of decoration such as the mosaics in S. Prassede, S. Cecilia in Trastevere, etc. The mosaic of S. Marco brings to a close the series due to the Karling revival, and it was not until the reign of Innocent II (1130–43) that any other work on a similar scale was attempted.

At S. Marco a large figure of Christ takes the central place ; the nimbus is cruciform, and on the platform on which He stands there are the letters A and W. With one hand He gives the blessing in Greek fashion, and in the other He holds an open book on which are the words : " Ego sum lux. Ego sum vita. Ego sum resurrectio." To the spectator's right stand S. Mark, the Pope, S. Agapetus, one of the deacons of Sixtus II, and S. Agnes ; to the left S. Felicissimus (another deacon of Pope Sixtus), S. Mark, and Pope Gregory IV, with a square nimbus and a model of the church. Below the feet of Christ is a nimbed phœnix. Beneath the semi-dome there is a procession of sheep from the two cities, Jerusalem and Bethlehem, meeting in the presence of the nimbed Lamb, who stands on the mystic mountain from which flow the four rivers of Paradise.

On the face of the arch Christ appears in blessing, with the four living things, symbols of the four evangelists. Below stand SS. Peter and Paul, pointing with eager gesture towards the figure of Christ in the semidome. The mosaic is generally regarded as one of the poorest in Rome, and it is quite true that the features and many details of the figures are rendered by the merest convention. If, however, the visitor will compare the figures of Christ in S. Cecilia and on the face of the arch at S. Maria Domnica he will be struck with a certain rude force and power in the figure at S. Marco. The artist has been able to give an impression of the awful majesty of the divine presence. The work is also marked by a fine sense of colour.

In the sacristy there is a **tabernacle** attributed to *Mino da Fiesole* (1431–84). To the spectator's right

Melchisedek as priest gives bread and wine to Abraham who kneels before him; to the left Rachael and Jacob deceive Isaac. In the central panel the door is guarded by four angels in adoration; the dove of the Holy Spirit hovers over it. In the upper part of the design the Father Eternal is in the act of blessing, and bears an open book.

S. Maria in Ara Cœli

The Church of S. Maria in Ara Cœli is built on one of the summits of the Capitoline hill, and on the site of the Arx or ancient citadel of Rome. On the other summit of the hill, where the German Embassy now stands, was formerly the Temple of Jupiter. The church may be reached by a short flight of steps leading from the Piazza del Campidoglio up to a side porch, or by a long flight of stairs from the via di Ara Cœli, which leads to the door in the west front. These stairs were built in 1348 to accommodate pilgrims who desired to visit the image of the Virgin that was supposed to give protection against the plague.

The church marks the site of an altar erected, according to tradition, by Augustus, to commemorate a vision which he saw on the spot. Divine honours had been decreed to Augustus, and being in doubt he consulted the Tiburtine Sibyl. She prophesied that a king should come, and as she spoke a vision appeared in the heavens. A virgin was seen holding a man child in her arms, and at the same time a voice declared "This is the virgin that shall conceive the Saviour of the world." An altar was raised on the spot, and its site is marked by the round monument in the left transept of the church.

The date of the foundation of the church is uncertain; it is usually assigned to the time of Gregory the Great (590–604). The monastery attached to the church is mentioned in the ninth century; but during the wars of Robert Guiscard in the eleventh century the buildings on the Capitol suffered almost total ruin. In the next century the ownership of the hill of the Capitol was con-

ferred upon the Abbot of Ara Cœli, and in the year 1251, under Innocent IV, Franciscans took the place of the Benedictines. From the twelfth century onwards the church became a centre of political and municipal life. The general meetings of the whole Roman people were held on the slopes of the hill, and the special councils met in the church. In 1242 the league of the Guelph cities against Frederick II was ratified here. In the fifteenth century, on the death of Eugenius IV, Porcaro called a meeting in the church, and vainly tried to rouse the Romans to assert their independence of the Papacy.

Famous Franciscans have been connected with the convent. S. Louis, Archbishop of Toulouse, made profession here, and S. Bernardino lived in the monastery for a time. There are many interesting monuments in the church—marble mosaics in the ambones, Gothic and Renaissance tombs, Papal statues, and frescoes by Pinturicchio; but in addition to these things there is a familiar and well-used air about the church as a whole, which gives a distinct charm to the place. It is not merely a building for the celebration of functions more or less formal. Its association with the bygone history of the struggle for freedom, its popularity with the poor who are crowded round the Capitol, the homely simplicity of the Franciscans, all give it a character somewhat different from that of the ordinary Roman church.

If we enter the building at the west end and stand at the central door looking towards the altar, the monument to the left is the tomb of Ludovico Grato, by *A. Sansovino.* To the right is the tomb of Cardinal Ludovico Lebretto, died 1465. Over the recumbent figure are reliefs of SS. Peter and Paul, and on the front of the monument SS. George and Francis. Beyond the tomb is a standing slab with a figure of Giovanni Crivelli, Archbishop of Aquileja, by *Donatello.* The sculpture is monastic in feeling.

Going on to the right aisle, the first chapel is that of S. Bernardino of Siena, in which *Pinturicchio* painted scenes from the life of the ascetic. To the right S. Bernardino passes through the experience of the monastic

life, ending in a vision of Christ on the Cross. To the left, in the lunette, the youthful Bernardino reads in a place to which he retired near Siena. This picture has also been described as representing S. Mary Magdalen. Below is the scene of the death of S. Bernardino. To the left of this fresco there is the portrait of Bufalini, who commissioned the work. The scene of the death is laid in magnificent Renaissance Piazza. In the foreground a child in its cradle is placed beside the bier, to mark the contrast between life and death. Over the altar there is a vision of the saint's journey from this life to the next. He is attended by brethren of his order—S. Louis of Toulouse and S. Anthony of Padua. Above two angels, with lilies of the Annunciation, bear the crown of glory which awaits the saint. Christ appears in a mandorla, surrounded by angels making music. On the roof are the evangelists.

The frescoes are in bad condition, and they can lay no claim to rank among the finest works of the period; they are, nevertheless, most charming in character, and their picturesque simplicity is in harmony with the whole atmosphere of the church.

Between the second and third chapels of the right aisle there is a seated statue of Gregory XIII (1572–85). In the side entrance, connecting the church with the Piazza del Campidoglio, there is the tomb of Bishop Pietro di Vicenza. Outside over the porch there is a fourteenth-century mosaic, with Madonna and Child. From the little piazza in front there is a lovely view over the Forum and the Palatine, with the Alban hills in the distance.

The Savelli chapel at the end of the right transept contains several family tombs. On the left wall of the chapel there is a pagan sarcophagus with a tomb over it, designed in marble mosaic. In it are buried Luca Savelli and his son Pandolfo, the father and brother of Pope Honorius IV. On the right wall there is the tomb of Honorius himself, ornamented with marble mosaic. The figure of the Pope is ineffective.

There is some fine marble mosaic in the construction

of the high altar behind the modern tabernacle. Behind the screen in the choir and on the left wall there is the beautiful Renaissance tomb of Cardinal Giambattista Savelli, attributed to *Andrea Bregno*. Above the figure are reliefs of S. John the Baptist and of S. John the Evangelist. On the front of the monument stand SS. Peter and Paul, in the lunette Madonna and Child adored by angels. In the chapel to the left of the altar, corresponding to that of the Savelli, is the Gothic tomb of Cardinal Matteo Acquasparta (died 1302). This Cardinal was General of the Franciscan Order in 1287, and favoured a relaxation of the strict rule. He failed in an attempt to reconcile the Black and White factions in Florence. A picturesque canopy covers a picture of Madonna and Child with SS. Thomas Aquinas and Anthony of Padua. Angels stand at the head and feet of the Cardinal. The tomb has been attributed to Adeodatus of the Cosmas family, who was working as late as 1332.

In the same chapel there is a huge seated figure of Leo X, and between it and the altar is the small round chapel which marks the site of the altar built by Augustus to commemorate his vision.

Close to the steps which lead down from the altar to the nave there are ambones to the right and left, attributed to different members of the Cosmas and Laurentius families of marble masons. They are beautiful examples of marble mosaic. Above the ambone to the left of the altar there is a fine tomb slab to Catherine Queen of Bosnia (died 1478). Passing down the left aisle we note in one of the side chapels the tomb of Filippo della Valle, a scholar, with a pile of books at the head and foot of the tomb. Near by in the nave, and opposite to Gregory XIII, is a seated statue of Paul III (1534–50). In the second chapel from the west end in the left aisle the drama of the Nativity is represented every Christmas, the principal figure being that of the Bambino preserved in the church. Close to the monument of the Cardinal Acquasparta, in the left transept, a passage leads to the Chapel of the Bambino and to the sacristy. The Bam-

bino is a small image of olive wood brought from Jerusalem, and made probably in the fifteenth century. It is taken, under the care of the Franciscans, to the rooms of sick children, and the valuable jewels with which it is covered are votive offerings recording its miraculous power. In the sacristy there is a Holy Family attributed to Giulio Romano.

S. Martina

The Roman Senate had its meeting-place at the north-west corner of the Forum, near to the Arch of Septimus Severus. The Curia Hostilia is now S. Adriano, and the Secretarium Senatus was on the site of S. Martina. The ancient buildings were divided when the Via Bonelli was cut through in the sixteenth century.

S. Martina is mainly interesting for its crypt, which was restored in the time of Urban VIII. On descending the stairs an octagonal hall is reached, in which relics of SS. Dorothea, Sabina, Euphemia, and Theodora are preserved. Passing from this hall into the chapel proper, there is to the left of the altar the tomb of S. Martina.

S. Pietro in Carcere

At the bottom of the steps leading down from the Capitol, and opposite to S. Martina, there is the ancient prison of the Tullianum, dating traditionally from the time of the kings. There are three levels. On the first is the modern church ; below this is the actual prison. Over the altar is a terra-cotta relief of SS. Peter and Paul. A hole in the floor is shown, through which prisoners were let down to the lower prison, on the third level. A staircase now connects the two prisons, and a mark is shown which, according to tradition, was made by the head of S. Peter. In the lowest prison there is a relief showing S. Paul preaching and S. Peter baptizing. A spring is shown which served for the baptism of the jailors and fellow-prisoners converted by the apostles, and also the column to which they were bound. The places are pointed out where the ropes were fixed when Cataline was strangled, and the door is shown where bodies were thrown into the Cloaca Maxima.

It was after the downfall and death of Simon Magus that Nero, infuriated at the loss of his favourite, is said to have imprisoned SS. Peter and Paul. After the conversion of the jailors they allowed the apostles to go free, and, according to tradition, it was in his flight from this place that S. Peter met Christ on the Appian Way and returned to Rome to suffer martyrdom.

S. Maria Antica

The most complete monument typical of Byzantine domination in Rome, now in existence, is the Church of S. Maria Antica. It was not an important building in the eighth century, it was not one of the parish churches of the city, nor could it rank with S. Anastasia, the official church of the Exarchs. Nevertheless, for us it is the only unrestored monument of the time, and it offers an interesting example of the Byzantine manner in Rome and of the iconography of an eighth-century church. The most important frescoes, or at least the most numerous, belong to the time of Pope John VII (705–8), but there are others of various dates, and they should all be compared with and distinguished from the frescoes in the lower Church of S. Clemente, in the house of SS. John and Paul, and in the crypt of S. Urbano. The Church of S. Maria Antica was probably constructed in the sixth century on the north-western corner of the Palatine, between a temple raised in honour of Augustus by his widow, and a structure assigned to the reign of Hadrian.

In the time of Augustus and his successors the Palatine was covered with the Imperial private residences, official and ceremonial palaces, and a number of temples. After the seat of Empire was removed to Byzantium, these buildings were practically deserted. In 403, when Honorius came to Rome, and again in 500, when Theodoric was in the city, the Imperial residences were used ; but it was not until the Byzantine Conquest of Narses, in the middle of the sixth century, that the Palatine became once more the official seat of Government. Narses is said to have died here in 569, and a succession

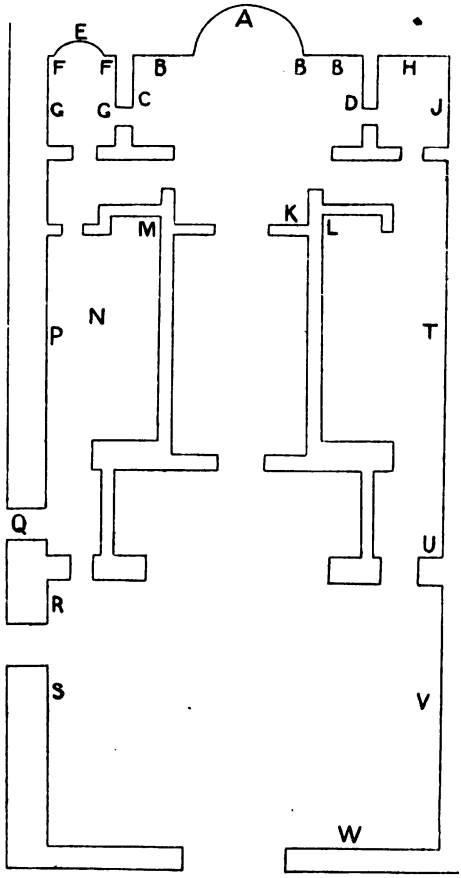
of Exarchs used the palaces from time to time from the end of the sixth century to the beginning of the eighth. Towards the end of the seventh century the buildings underwent some restoration, and a certain Plato, a Greek, is mentioned as overseer. During the Byzantine rule in Rome there was a constant struggle between the Greek and Roman factions. Eastern influence was predominant until the early part of the eighth century, when the Iconoclast controversy enabled the Popes to appeal successfully to national sentiment and to throw off the supremacy of Constantinople. Throughout the seventh century the Byzantine Exarchs claimed the power of ratifying the election of the Popes, and from the time of John IV in 640 up to the death of Constantinus in 715 a number of them owed their origin to countries east of the Adriatic.

S. Maria Antica is supposed to have been used as a church from the sixth century, but most of the existing painting is due to Pope John VII (705–7). This Pope, the son of the Greek Plato, seems to have had the idea of building a Bishop's house on the Palatine above the church, with the intention perhaps of identifying the dwelling of the Popes with the ancient seat of the Empire. The scheme, however, was never carried out, and the Popes continued to live at the Lateran.

In the time of Leo IV (847–55) the inner part of S. Maria Antica was abandoned, owing to the ruin caused by the fall of the buildings on the Palatine. In later centuries several attempts were made to excavate the ancient church, but it is only within recent years, and since the Church of S. Maria Liberatrice was pulled down, that the building has been uncovered.

The paintings in S. Maria Antica are among the earliest existing examples which mark the change to a specifically mediæval temper. In the catacombs, on the sarcophagi, and in the early mosaics the appeal is made for the most part by symbol and allegory. Direct representations of the Passion are very rare, the sufferings of the martyrs are not dwelt upon, the history of Israel is treated as an allegory of the founding of the

kingdom of Christ in this world. On the walls of the S. Maria Antica a different temper is at work. The



Plan xvi. S. Maria Antica.

Crucifixion is directly represented, the acts of the martyrs are emphasized, the point of view is historical rather than symbolical. The hierarchy of the Church,

its bishops, priests, and doctors, are in full possession of ecclesiastical dignities, they form the most striking element in the nave, and are gathered like a brilliant court round the figure of Christ.

The church may be divided into three parts.

(i) The sanctuary with chapels to right and left.

(ii) The nave divided by screens according to liturgical requirements.

(iii) The space which may have been an atrium.

The sanctuary. In the semidome at **A** (**plan xvi**) there is a large figure of Christ. On the end wall there are remains of designs which cover the space from top to bottom. **B, B** on the plan. At the top there are the remains of a Crucifixion ; the figures below are probably those who worship the Christ on the cross. Beneath these are four Popes. Martin I (649–55) to the spectator's right, and to the extreme left probably John VII (705–7). On the walls below there are four doctors ; to the left S. Augustine may be distinguished ; to the right SS. Basil and Gregory Nazianzen. A picture of Madonna and Child is also visible at the corner **B** 1 on the plan.

The side walls of the sanctuary have scenes from the life of Christ, for the most part not easy to decipher. On the wall marked **C** the Adoration of the Magi and the bearing of the cross can be distinguished. On the wall opposite at **D** Christ and the apostles are partially visible, and representations from the Gospel history are continued. In the chapel to the left of the sanctuary, on the side walls **G, G**, the acts of SS. Julietta and Quiricus are depicted. But the most interesting picture in the chapel is a Crucifixion in a niche in the end wall **E** ; Christ has a blue robe without sleeves and reaching to his feet. There is no foot-board, and the feet are nailed separately. Christ is bearded, the eyes are open, the head is slightly inclined to the proper right. Over the head is the inscription in Greek letters, and above the arms of the cross are the sun and moon. Longinus wears a sword, and has the air of one in authority ; he thrusts the lance into the side. The sponge-bearer

looks like a servant; he has a short tunic and stockings. Madonna is robed and veiled in dull purple. S. John has a white tunic and yellow robe; he carries a richly jewelled book. At each side of the niche is a palm tree, and the scene is set in a wild and mountainous landscape. Beneath this picture there is a row of figures (**F, F** on the plan) on the end wall. Madonna and Child on a richly decorated chair in the centre; to the spectator's left Pope Zacharias (741–52) and Julietta; to the right Quiricus and Theodotus bearing a model of the church. The chapel to the right of the sanctuary has on the right wall (**J** on the plan) figures of Saints Celsus of Antioch, Pantaleone, and others. On the end wall at **H** there are five figures—Cosmas, Abbacyrus, Stephen, Procopius, and Damianus. On the screens which separate the eastern end of the church from the nave and aisles there are remains of frescoes (**K**) representing David killing Goliath, and Isaiah warning Hezekiah.

The nave. On the screens there are remains of pictures, at **L** the seven Maccabee children, and at **M** an Annunciation. At **N** there is the foundation of an ambone with inscriptions in Latin and Greek, in which Pope John VII declares himself to be the servant of Madonna.

On the nave wall (at **P** on the plan) there is a remarkable series of figures. Christ is the centre of the design; to the right are a number of eastern saints, such as John Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, Athanasius, etc., and on the left Popes Clement, Sylvester, Leo, Gregory the Great, and a number of ecclesiastics. Above the frescoes there are pictures from the Creation down to the time of Joseph. At **Q** there is a doorway leading to the stair which goes up to the Palatine; on the archway there are frescoes of Madonna and of the Descent into Hades. On the right-hand wall of the nave at **T** there are frescoes of the three holy mothers—Anna, Elizabeth, and Madonna. At **U** there is the sarcophagus of Clodia Secunda. In the outer division or atrium there are a few fragments of painting at or near **R**, S. Abbacyrus, at **S**, S. Erasmus, at **V**, SS. Christopher, Lawrence,

Basil, and Blaize, with S. Benedict near by, and at W three figures of uncertain interpretation.

To the left of the entrance to the Church of S. Maria Antica is the chapel of the forty martyrs of Sebaste. On the left wall there are the martyrs, and on the apse there is a picture of their martyrdom.

This note on S. Maria Antica and the plan do not aim at giving more than a general outline of what is to be found. Visitors will at once see how easy it is to fall into error in such a place. It is hoped, however, that the foregoing suggestions may assist those who wish to draw their own conclusions. A full and scholarly account of the monument appears in Vol. I of the "Papers of the British School at Rome," to which we are much indebted.

S. Cosma e Damiano

This church is formed by the union of two pagan buildings. The rectangular part belongs to a temple built by Vespasian, and frequently restored. It was used in the third century for preserving plans and documents connected with the government of the city. The round part of the present church was built by the Emperor Maxentius, who was overthrown by Constantine at the battle near the Milvian Bridge. It was intended as a monument to the child Romulus, a son of the Emperor. These buildings were consecrated as a church by Pope Felix IV (526–30), in whose time the mosaic was executed.

The two Arabian brothers Cosma and Damiano were learned physicians; they suffered in the persecution under Diocletian. The scene of a famous miracle worked by them, is laid here. A man who suffered from canker in his thigh devoutly served the saints in the church. At night as he slept they appeared and cut away the diseased part, and to supply its place they took the limb of an Ethiopian who had just been buried at S. Pietro in Vincoli. The bodies of SS. Cosma and Damiano are preserved in the crypt, which is reached by stairs descending close to the choir. The church has

suffered much from restoration. Ambones erected by Sergius I (695), and a ciborium made by the same family of artists who executed the tabernacle at S. Lorenzo-fuor-le-Mura (dated 1150), have disappeared.

The mosaic of Felix IV (526–30) is the most interesting monument in the building. The central figure is that of Christ, bearing a roll in one hand and with the other extended as if in speech. To the spectator's right is S. Peter, and to the left S. Paul; they present SS. Cosma and Damiano. To the extreme left Pope Felix (badly restored) holds a model of the church, and to the extreme right stands S. Theodore. At the foot of the design is the word Jordanes, and immediately below, the nimbed Lamb stands on the mount from which flow the four rivers of Paradise. There is the usual procession of sheep from the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem. To the spectator's left and over the head of S. Paul is a monogram of the cross with the phœnix. On the face of the arch is the vision of the Lamb seen by S. John. Within an aureole is a gemmed throne, on which lies the Lamb; below is the book with the seven seals. To right and left are the seven candlesticks, and beyond these are two angels and the symbols of SS. Matthew and John. The angels are expressive figures with free gesture, and the character of winged beings who can fly. The eagle of S. John is also finely rendered. The symbols of SS. Mark and Luke, and part of the design including the elders have disappeared.

The general design gives an impression of spacious magnificence, in marked contrast to the work executed under Paschal I in the ninth century. The representation of Christ (apart from the restored figure) is the least satisfactory; the drapery is heavy and ungraceful, and the expression lacks distinction. It is the barbarous vigour of one of the soldier Emperors, rather than the ideal of spiritual exaltation, that has inspired the artist. The two apostles and the physician saints, on the other hand, are striking; their solemn faces show a consciousness of the presence in which they stand; their powerful frames and stern bearing fitly express the spirit of

those who know how to suffer and die for their faith. These remarkable mosaics take their place in date between those in the chapel attached to the baptistery of S. John Lateran executed in the middle of the fifth century and those in S. Lorenzo, f.l.m. at the end of the sixth century.

S. Francesca Romana

When S. Maria Antica fell into ruins this church took its place, and was known as S. Maria Nova, to distinguish it from the more ancient foundation. It derives its present name from the possession of the relics of S. Francesca Romana (1384–1440), who is buried in the crypt. She was the founder of a sisterhood of oblates who still have a house in the Tor de Specchi.

The building occupies part of the site of the Temple of Venus and Rome. The beautiful bell tower, which is one of the most picturesque in Rome, is assigned to the twelfth or thirteenth century. The façade towards the forum dates from the seventeenth century. The church is entered by a side porch and in the chapel through which the visitor passes, there is, to the left, the tomb of Cardinal Vulcani (*d.* 1322), with reliefs of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and to the right the tomb of Antonio Rido (*d.* 1475), a Paduan who is sculptured on horseback.

In the right transept there is a relief showing the return of Gregory XI from Avignon in 1377. He is entering the city by the Porta San Paolo. S. Catherine of Siena appears in the procession. The vacant papal chair, supported by putti on the clouds, floats over the baldacchino, under which the Pope rides. Fixed in the wall of this transept there is a paving-stone from the Via Sacra, which, according to tradition, bears the marks of the knees of S. Peter. Simon Magus and S. Peter had long been at strife, and when they both appeared in Rome, Simon became a favourite of Nero, before whom he worked miracles by magical arts. At last he declared that he would leave the earth and

ascend to heaven; throwing himself from a tower on the Capitol he was supported by the angels of the devil, and flew through the air until S. Peter knelt and charged these angels that they should hold him up no longer, when he fell to the earth and was killed. The above-mentioned stone bears the marks of his knees as S. Peter knelt. In the left transept there is a small tabernacle which has been attributed to *Mino da Fiesole.*

The most important monument in the church is the **mosaic** in the semidome. It has been attributed to the time of Nicholas I (858–67), but the best authorities assign it to the twelfth century. The space is divided by columns and arches; in the centre sits Madonna with the Child; she wears a coronet, and her throne is heavily decorated. The Child has an aged face, and is distinguished by a cruciform nimbus. To the spectator's right stand SS. Peter and Andrew, and to the left SS. James and John. The style of the work is feeble, and, although the design may in some ways be more accomplished, there is none of the barbaric force and power which makes the Christ in the semidome at S. Marco so striking. The cool greys and the brilliant background are highly decorative.

On the wall behind the high altar is a picture of the Virgin, attributed to S. Luke. In a small niche to the left of the altar there is a fragment showing the remains of a fresco of the Crucifixion.

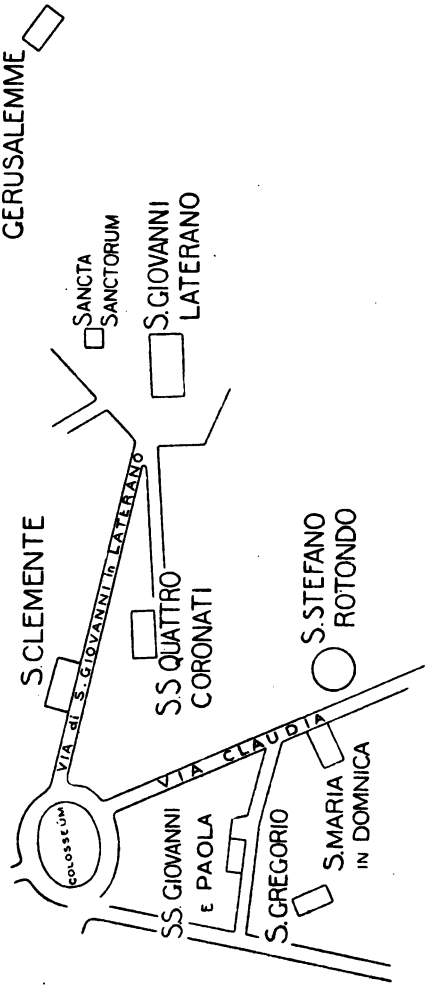
In the sacristry a panel is shown representing Madonna and Child with S. Benedict (in white) and S. Francesca Romana.

CHURCHES ON THE CŒLIAN AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

S. CLEMENTE

The Church of S. Clemente is in the Via di S. Giovanni Laterano. It is supposed to occupy the site of the house in which the saint lived, or where the Christians were accustomed to gather in his lifetime. There are four different series of buildings on four different levels. The lowest is dated in the second century B.C. Above that is a house of the first century A.D., which may be the house of Clement. At a higher level is a church of early date which suffered in the sack of Rome in 1084, and above this is the present church. It is probable that the lower church was in use up to the middle of the eleventh century, and that the present building was in existence at the beginning of the twelfth.

The destruction of the one church and the building of the other was the result of the strife between the temporal and spiritual powers, at the end of the eleventh century, arising from the ecclesiastical reforms directed by Pope Hildebrand. The submission and reconciliation at Canossa was only the close of the first act in the drama. Intermittent warfare continued for several years, until in 1083 Henry succeeded in entering Rome. Gregory VII was obliged to take refuge in the Castle of S. Angelo, and it was to rescue him from the Emperor that the Norman, Robert Guiscard, suddenly appeared, forced the gate of S. Lorenzo, and caused Henry to fly. After some days spent in plundering, the people rose against the Normans, and parts of the city were destroyed by



CHURCHES ON THE CŒLIAN AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

fire. It was at this time that the churches of S. Clemente and SS. Quattro Coronati, and many other buildings, were ruined. The present Church of S. Clemente was reared on the dismantled building, probably in the twelfth century.

Externally the building of S. Clemente has little to recommend it; the only noteworthy thing is that, unlike most of the Roman churches, it still retains its atrium according to the ancient plan. **The interior** of the church is one of the most interesting in the city. There is no other which gives such a complete sense of fitness and spaciousness, although its actual dimensions are comparatively small. The individual parts of the design are in themselves simple. Every detail is strictly subordinate to the general end in view, hence the arrangements have been regarded as a model of the right ordering of a church for purposes of ritual. Not only is the interior suitable to its intention, it is also refiend and graceful; the mind is not distracted and limited by needless accessories. The panels of the screen, for instance, are models of restraint and delicate symmetry. The white marble gains just the necessary relief from the richly coloured discs, and the designs of the garlands and crosses are the perfection of severe and unaffected grace. The mosaics of the semidome and the arch over it are assigned to the twelfth century. The **mosaic** of the semidome is the only one in Rome in which Christ is represented on the cross. The figure is that of an emaciated ascetic. The feet are supported by the suppodaneum characteristic of the period (the twelfth century). Madonna and S. John stand at the foot of the cross. Doves signify the apostles, and above the divine hand holds the crown of life. Beneath the cross is the fountain of life from which spring the four rivers, stags drink of the water, and on the banks of the stream all kinds of birds and beasts are gathered, while men and women tend their flocks and feed their fowls. A pile of horns, saddles, swords, and spears complete this picture of social life. From the fountain there also springs the luxuriant foliage which covers the semidome. It is

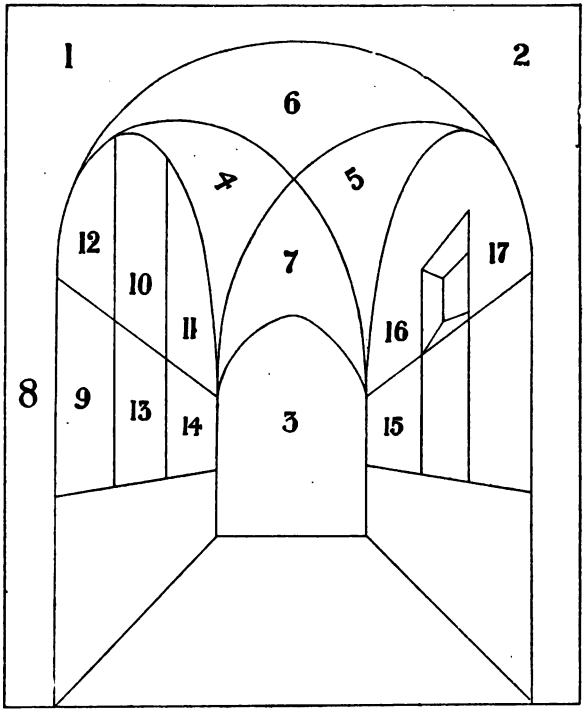
a figure of the church which is the plantation of God and His chosen vine. In the branches, the work of the teachers and preachers and the safety of the body of believers is shown, partly by images and partly by symbols. The four doctors of the Latin Church are represented, and S. Clement is shown converting Sisimus. The souls of those who find peace in the Church are figured in the symbolical fashion of the early centuries as birds of all kinds resting in the vine. At each side of the design are pelicans, a mediæval symbol of the Passion of Christ which is not to be found in early art. At the foot of the semidome there is the usual procession of sheep from the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, each moving towards the Lamb in the centre.

On the face of the arch there is, in the middle, a bust of Christ holding the book and giving the blessing. On the same level are the four symbolical animals. To the left the angel of S. Matthew, and the lion of S. Mark; and to the right the eagle of S. John and the bull of S. Luke. Below the lion sit SS. Paul and Lawrence. On a lower level, to the left of the semidome and beneath these two saints, stands Isaiah with a scroll bearing the words "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne high and lifted up" (Isa. VI.). On the right the corresponding figures to SS. Paul and Lawrence are SS. Peter and Clement; beneath them is the prophet Jeremiah, who has on his scroll a reference to Baruch III. 35: "This is our God, and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of Him." In the apse below the semidome the apostles are painted in fresco. The figure of Christ on the cross in the mosaic forms a reliquary, and contains a piece of the true cross, and also relics of SS. James and Ignatius. The ambones, the altar, and the screens were all originally in the lower church.

In the Capella della Passione to the right of the usual entrance to the church, there is an important series of **frescoes** belonging to the Tuscan school, which have formed the subject of controversy in the history of art. The discussion has included three series of pictures: (1) those at Castiglione d'Olona, fifteen miles north of

Milan ; (2) those in the Brancacci Chapel in the Church of the Carmine at Florence ; (3) the frescoes at S. Clemente in Rome.

Two artists were concerned in the three series, viz.



Plan xvii. Capella della Passione, S. Clemente.

Masolino da Panicale (1383 (?)–1440 (?)), or 1447 (?) and *Masaccio* (1401 (?)–1428 (?)). There is a general agreement in the belief that *Masolino* painted at Castiglione. In the Brancacci Chapel the most important and significant work has been assigned to *Masaccio*. At S. Clemente most critics now agree that *Masolino* painted the stories of S. Catherine and S. Clement, although for many years the frescoes were attributed to Masaccio.

There is still doubt as to whether these pictures should be attributed to the early or to later life of Masolino.

On the wall over the entrance into the chapel is the Annunciation (**1, and 2, plan xvii**); to the left of the entrance there is a figure of S. Christopher (**8**). On the roof of the chapel are the four evangelists (**4, 5, 6, 7**), each associated with a doctor of the Church. On the end wall is a painting of the Crucifixion (**3**). On the wall to the left is the story of S. Catherine, who was Queen in Alexandria. Her heart having been touched by the love of celestial things, she was taken in a vision into the desert, where in a glorious palace she received baptism, and was mystically espoused to Christ. When Maxentius, the Emperor, came to Alexandria, she tried to stay his persecution of the Christians, and so overcame him in argument that he sent for the philosophers that she might be silenced by their wisdom (**9**). They were converted and condemned to death in consequence. In prison Catherine instructed the Queen (**10**), and converted her, and she also suffered martyrdom (**11**). When the Emperor offered Catherine the alternative of sacrificing to idols (**12**) or of death, she refused to sacrifice, and wheels set with knives were made ready. When the saint was placed between them (**13**), an angel came down and broke them in pieces, and so great was his force that 4000 people were killed. Then her head was cut off (**14**), and angels carried her body to Mount Sinai for burial.

The frescoes on the right wall refer to the story of S. Clement. The Bishop was sent to the Crimea so that his influence in Rome might be destroyed. The imperial officials, finding that Clement was no less powerful in exile, caused him to be bound to an anchor and cast into the sea. In answer to the prayers of his disciples, the water dried up at each anniversary of his martyrdom, so that they were able to visit the place where his body was preserved within a marble temple. On one occasion on which the waters were driven back so that the faithful might visit the tomb a mother, in fear of being overwhelmed by the sea, forgot her child.

The fresco **No. 15** shows the sea flowing over the temple. The fresco **No. 16** shows how the child was found in safety at the next visit of the disciples. In **No. 17** the child is taken home.

In the left aisle is the tomb of Cardinal Venerio. It includes two columns from the old church, decorated with foliage and open basket-work capitals. On one is the name Mercurius (afterwards John II), (532–5). At the end of the right aisle is a fine example of the tabernacles which were made for preserving the holy oil. In the same aisle there are the tombs of Cardinal Rovarella and Archbishop Brusati, both belonging to the end of the fifteenth century.

The subterranean church is reached from the vestibule of the sacristry; thence a stairway leads directly down into the porch or narthex, from whence we pass under an archway into the nave.

The building is laid out in the same plan as the upper church, except that the aisles do not end in chapels, and that the area of the lower church is greater than that of the upper. Passing into the aisle to the right, the first fresco (**A, plan xviii**) represents the martyrdom of S. Catherine. The next fresco (**B**) is in a niche in the wall; it represents Madonna and Child, with SS. Catherine and Euphemia, and the sacrifice of Isaac. (**C**) A large fresco, much destroyed. A number of heads are still visible; it has been suggested that it represents the Council held by Zosimus in 417. (**D**) Figure of Christ giving the Latin blessing. (**E**) Descent into Hades. (**F**) Crucifixion of S. Peter. (**G**) S. Cyril, apostle to the Sclavs, kneels before the Emperor Michael III (842–67), by whom he was sent to the Khajars.

(**H**) Baptism. (**K**) Supposed tomb of S. Cyril. (**L**) The upper fresco represents the enthronement of S. Clement by SS. Peter, Linus, and Anacletus. Below this the story of Theodora and Sisinnius is told in two frescoes. The upper one shows how Theodora, being converted, her husband Sisinnius goes to church to see what happens. S. Clement prays, and Sisinnius is struck blind. In the lowest division Sisinnius has ordered Clement to be

taken to prison and, his servants being also blind, or else with intent to deceive Sisinnius, take a column, bind it with ropes, and draw it out, instead of S. Clement and his clergy. In the border of this series of frescoes there is a figure of S. Antoninus and Daniel in the den of Lions.

(M) The upper picture represents Christ with Michael and Gabriel and SS. Clement and Nicholas.

The fresco below refers to the story of S. Alexius, who lay for seventeen years as an unknown beggar at his father's door. As his time drew near a voice directed the people to him, and his father, mother, and wife only recognized him when he was dead. In the border of these pictures is represented S. Egidius, and incidents in the life of S. Blasius.

(N) Three frescoes representing the Marys at the tomb, the Descent into Hades, and the Marriage at Cana.

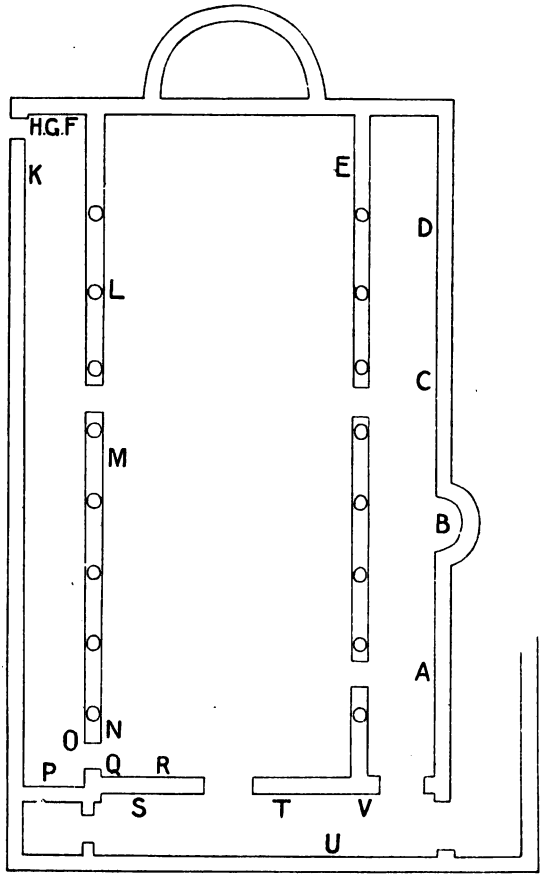
(O) In the aisle there is a fresco of S. Proper, and at (P) miracles worked by S. Libertinus.

Returning to the nave at (Q) there is a Crucifixion supposed to be one of the earliest examples in Rome. Di Rossi has assigned its probable date to the eighth or ninth century.

(R) Assumption of the Virgin. This is one of the earliest examples of the subject in Italian art. In the upper part is Christ with a cruciform nimbus, seated in an aureole supported by nimbed angels. In the centre of the picture is Madonna nimbed and with outstretched arms like an orante. Beneath stand the apostles, expressing their emotion by wild gesticulation or contorted attitudes. To the spectator's left stands Pope Leo IV (847–55) with the square nimbus used for living persons, and to the right S. Vitus, Archbishop of Vienne, an opponent of the Arians. The apostles have no sacerdotal costume, and they are not nimbed.

Passing into the narthex at S there is the translation of the body of a saint. From the mention of Pope Nicholas (858–67) the event is placed in the ninth century. There is doubt as to whether the picture refers to the burial of S. Clement or S. Cyril. Cyril and his

brother Methodius, apostles in Slavonia, were invited to Rome by Pope Nicholas, and they brought with them



Plan xviii. Lower Church of S. Clemente.

the relics of S. Clement. The Pope died before their arrival, and his successor, Adrian II (867–72) caused the relics to be buried in S. Clemente. Cyril died in

869, while he was in Rome, and he also was buried in S. Clemente (K on the plan). The picture was the gift of a certain Maria.

(T) Miracle at the tomb of S. Clement. A child which had been left at the tomb by its mother is found safe and well in the following year. The picture represents the mother's emotion in a natural and delicate way. Beneath, the donors of the picture, Beno de Rapiza and his family are gathered round the image of S. Clement.

(U) Christ in blessing, with SS. Michael and Andrew on one side, Gabriel and S. Clement on the other. The two kneeling figures are supposed to represent SS. Cyril and Methodius. This picture has been assigned to the tenth century.

(V) Remains of a fresco, in which only a head is visible.

S. JOHN LATERAN

[The Church of S. John Lateran may be reached by cars from S. Sylvester, and from the Piazza Venezia. If the visitor gets out of the latter car in the piazza opposite to the obelisk, he will have, directly in front, the square mass of the palace built by Sixtus V, now the Lateran Museum. To the left are the buildings which contain the Scala Sancta and the Sancta Sanctorum, also the tribune in which there is a restoration of a mosaic from a triclinium in the old palace of the Lateran. The principal façade of the church, built by Galilei, is reached by passing round the museum to the left. To the right lies the bapistery (traditionally dating from the time of Constantine), with its surrounding chapels, and by passing round the museum to the right the visitor can enter the transept of the church by the portico of Sixtus V.]

The basilica of S. John Lateran occupies the site of the palace of a Roman family who in the early years of the empire had grown into importance. Under Nero the property was confiscated, and it seems to have become an appanage of the Emperors. When Constantine married Fausta he received the palace as part of her

dowry. After the decrees which gave peace to the Church Constantine is supposed to have handed the palace over to the Bishop of Rome. There is some confirmation of this in the fact that the decrees of a council held in 313, for the purpose of dealing with the Donatists, are dated from the Lateran. This palace continued to be the principal residence of the Popes until the time of the flight to Avignon.

The church is one of those attributed to Constantine, and it still retains the title of "Mother and head of all churches of Rome, and of the world." S. John Lateran, like S. Peter's and S. Paul's without the walls, had a nave with two aisles at each side, with transepts and a single apse. Each of these churches also had an atrium in front of an entrance porch. In the time of Pelagius II (578–90) a Benedictine monastery was founded close to the church, by the monks who had been driven out of Monte Casino by the Lombards.

The first serious restoration seems to have been the rebuilding by Sergius III (904–11) after an earthquake, which happened in 896. The fall of the church may have been due to the earthquake, but popular imagination was struck by the coincidence of this upheaval with the holding of the so-called "Corpse" Synod, at which the Pope Stephen V caused the dead body of his predecessor, Formosus I, to be brought before him. Condemnation was pronounced against the late Pontiff on the pretext of an irregular election; the fingers which had been used in blessing were cut off, the corpse was stripped of the papal robes, and was cast into the Tiber.

The next great catastrophe happened in the burning of this part of Rome by the Normans under Guiscard in 1084, an episode in the long struggle between church and Empire. Calixtus II (1119–1124) restored the buildings, and in the oratory of S. Nicholas (now destroyed) he caused the portraits of the Popes who had carried on the struggle to be painted with the figures of the antipopes as their footstools.

The cloisters were built in the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century the church was twice partially

destroyed by fire; in 1308, when Pope Clement V was established at Avignon; and again in 1360.

Under Urban V (1362–70) there was a rebuilding and restoration which is said to have destroyed the character of the church of Sergius III. In the time of Sixtus V (1585–90) the existing buildings of the Lateran Palace were destroyed (except the Sancta Scala), and the palace, now occupied by the museum, was built. The entrance portico, near to the baptistery, was also designed in its present form by *Dom Fontana*. In the Papacy of Clement VIII (1592–1605) the transept was restored by *Giacomo della Porta*, who is also said to have designed the ceiling of the nave. In the reign of Innocent X (1644–55) *Borromini* reduced the nave to its present state. Under Clement XII (1730–40) *Alessandro Galilei* built the existing western façade; he also designed the Capella S. Andrea Corsini. Under Pius IX and Leo XIII the choir has been rebuilt and enlarged.

Such is briefly the history of the building of the palace and the church, and of the changes they have undergone.

As we see the church to-day, **the exterior** is uninteresting. The palace of Sixtus V, now the Lateran Museum, is among the least impressive of its kind in Rome; and when it is remembered that it takes the place of some of the most interesting monuments in the city, which existed up to the end of the sixteenth century, it is difficult to repress a feeling of despair.

During the many ages in which the palace of the Lateran was the dwelling-place of the Popes, the space now occupied by the museum and the piazza had been filled by council-chambers, halls of audience, chapels, etc., many of them covered with mosaics and paintings. The little group of the baptistery and the oratories gathered round it give us some idea of what we might still have seen, on a much larger scale, if it had not been for the destruction of the old palace carried out by Sixtus V. The portico built by this Pope, which gives entrance to the transept, is as uninspired as the palace. The two small mediæval bell-towers are the only features which relieve its dullness.

The principal façade from which the nave is entered, built by the architect *Galilei* about 1734, has nothing to recommend it. The statues which are ranged along its balustrade are seen from a long distance, and often from most unexpected points; they are only interesting as examples of the taste of the period. But if the architects have been dull, nature has made compensation. From hardly any spot in Rome is the view so charming as from the steps of the main façade. The Scala Santa and the Triclinium are a little to the left; straight in front is the basilica of S. Croce in Gerusalemme; to the right is a long stretch of the city wall, pierced by the Porta San Giovanni; and beyond, the Campagna broadens away to the foot of the Sabines and the Albans hills. Frascati lies on the lower slopes. Above is Rocca di Papa, and with a glass, the convent on the top of Monte Cavo may easily be distinguished. Another lovely view may be had from the garden, entered near the baptistery at the opposite end of the church.

S. Stefano Rotondo is close at hand. The Aurelian walls lie in the middle distance with the Campanile of S. Giovanni Porta Latina, and the towers of the Porta San Sebastiano, and in the distance the Campagna stretches away towards the sea and towards Albano.

As the visitor reaches the steps of the principal façade he will probably be struck by the enormous proportions of the building, and by its lack of distinction. A certain quality of dull and frigid dignity will perhaps be the most permanent impression left by Galilei's façade. On the pier close to the main entrance is the inscription, "SACROS LATERAN ECCLES: OMNIUM URBIS ET ORBIS ECCLESIARUM MATER ET CAPUT."

In the portico of entrance is an ancient statue of Constantine on the left. To the right is the Porta Santa, closed by marble slabs. The bronze doors of the entrance to the nave have no sculpture, but they are interesting as having belonged to the ancient senate house in the Forum.

The interior. There are two aisles on each side of

the central nave. We begin with the outer aisle to the right. Passing the Mellini monument close to the Porta Santa, the first chapel is that of the Orsini; the next door leads into the Torlonia chapel, one of the most lavish pieces of nineteenth-century decoration in Rome. On the wall of the aisle just beyond there is a statue of S. James in a characteristic Renaissance setting. The next chapel is that of the Massimi. Beyond the closed door leading into the museum is the tomb of Cardinal de Clavis, dating from the end of the thirteenth century. The effect of the beautiful marble mosaic of that period is marred by incongruous surroundings. At the end of the aisle is a tomb with the recumbent figure of Antonio Cardanalis Portugalensis, who died in 1447.

Turning into the aisle next the nave there is on the first pillar (nearest the transept) the monument of Ranutio Farnese, nephew of Paul III. On the second pillar there is a monument to Sergius IV (1009–21, or 1012), the son of a shoemaker, named Buccaporca. He is commemorated in one of the Borgia apartments as the first Pope who took an official name. The next pillar has a monument to the memory of Alexander III (Roland Bandinelli of Siena, 1159–81), the opponent of Frederick Barbarossa. Gregory VII, Alexander III, and Gregory IX stand out as the most powerful defenders of the Papacy against the claims of the Empire. Besides Barbarossa, Alexander had to defend himself against antipopes, and it was only in the Lateran Council of 1179 that he was able to assert his position. It was at this council also that Papal elections were vested in a two-thirds majority of the Cardinals.

The next pillar has a monument to Gerbert, who became Pope as Sylvester II (999–1003). He owed the Archbishopric of Rheims to the favour of Hugh Capet, who ruled in Paris, and the Papacy to the favour of the Emperor Otto III.

It was Sylvester II who bestowed the crown on Stephen of Hungary (100), the first instance of the direct gift of a crown by a Pope to a prince other than

the Emperor. The inscription on this tomb was misunderstood in the Middle Ages: instead of declaring the willingness of the Pope to appear at the judgment seat when the trumpet shall sound, it was supposed to say that the coming of a papal successor would be announced by the rattling of Sylvester's bones. His reputation as a necromancer no doubt led to the mistake. On the next pillar there is a fragment of fresco attributed to *Giotto*, showing Pope Boniface VIII proclaiming the jubilee of 1300.

Turning next to the **left aisles** of the church we pass the inner one, next to the nave, as having no monuments of general interest. In the outer aisle, close to the door of entrance, is the tomb of Cardinal Riccardo Annibaldi (*d.* 1240), a member of a noble family closely connected with that of Innocent III, and having a legendary descent from Hannibal. The palace and tower of the Annibaldi occupied that part of the Lateran piazza where the obelisk of Sixtus V now stands. The first door is the entrance to the Capella S. Andrea Corsini, built by *Galilei* for Clement XII; to the left of the chapel is the monument of that Pope. It is one of the chapels not uncommon in Rome, in which wealth has been devoted without any stint to do honour to some relic or to add to the reputation of some particular family. Such a chapel exists in S. M. del Popolo, where the art of *Raphael*, and the wealth of Agostino Chigi were devoted to a family burial-place. Late in the same century, and early in the seventeenth century, Popes Sixtus V and Paul V built the two famous chapels in S. M. Maggiore. In the Lateran we have the Corsini chapel, built early in the eighteenth century, and the Torlonia chapel in the middle of the nineteenth. In all these cases vast wealth was placed at the service of such artists as were available, and there is therefore an opportunity of comparing the taste and the art of the Romans in such monuments during the past 400 years.

The other chapels in the left aisle are the Ceva, the Santorio, and the Lancelotti. Near the end of the aisle is the tomb of Cardinal Jerome Casanate, who

founded the library in the Monastery of S. Maria Sopra Minerva.

The nave of S. John Lateran is a melancholy example of how a building magnificent in conception and dignified by the tradition of so many generations can be ruined by the obtuse dullness and callous insensibility of men like Innocent X and his architect *Borromini*. The architectural forms, the sculpture, and the painting are all alike frigid and repellent. The pavement laid in the time of Martin V (1417–24), is the one feature that yields any pleasure. The tomb of this Pope, the work of *Simone Ghini*, is at the end of the nave near to the Confession. The artists who worked in the nave, however dull and uninspired they may have been, were obliged to adopt ancient tradition in their choice of subjects, hence, although the art, as such, can only benumb, the iconography has an interest of its own.

On the pillar to the left of the Confession is the statue of S. Peter. Above is a relief of the expulsion, and higher again a painting of the prophet Isaiah. On the pillar opposite the subjects are S. Paul, Christ on the cross, and the prophet Jeremiah. Second pillar to the left: S. Andrew, the Deluge, and Baruch; opposite, S. James-the-Great, the Baptism, and the prophet Ezekiel. Third pillar to the left: S. John, the Sacrifice of Isaac, and the prophet Daniel; opposite, S. Thomas, Christ bearing the cross, and the prophet Hosea Fourth pillar to the left: S. James-the-Less, Joseph sold into Egypt, and the prophet Joel; opposite, S. Philip, the Kiss of Judas, and the prophet Amos. The fifth pillar to the left: S. Bartholomew, the Israelites delivered from the Red Sea, and the prophet Obadiah; opposite, S. Matthew, Christ going down to Hades, and the prophet Jonah. The sixth pillar to the left: S. Simon, Jonah cast up by the Whale, and the prophet Micah; opposite, S. Thaddeus, Christ rising from the tomb, and the prophet Nahum.

The transept may be entered from the portico built under Sixtus V. In a small chamber to the left of this vestibule there is a statue of Henry IV of France placed

there in acknowledgment of a grant made by the King to the basilica. The transept was restored under Clement VIII by *Giacomo della Porta* in the first years of the seventeenth century.

Turning to the right on entering, there is the small Chapel of the Crucifix. To the right of this chapel there is a kneeling figure of the Franciscan Pope Nicholas IV, and to the left the tomb of the famous humanist Lorenzo Valla, who while in the service of the King of Naples attacked the temporal power of the Papacy, and later, when King and Pope had come to terms, begged for a post under the papal government.

Next to the Chapel of the Crucifix is a new monument to Innocent III (1198–1216). This Pope died at Perugia, and his remains were preserved in the Duomo there until about ten years ago. No Roman Bishop has a greater claim to be laid in the ancient home of the Papacy. He was not engaged in any direct struggle with an Emperor, he caused no monarch to abase himself as Henry IV did at Canossa, he imposed no humiliation such as Alexander III exacted from Barbarossa, he pursued no ruler with such undying vengeance as that which Gregory IX and Innocent IV wreaked on Frederick II; yet Innocent III must be regarded as the Pope who did more to impress mankind with the spiritual dignity of his office than perhaps any other successor of S. Peter.

The papal altar, in the centre of the transept to the left hand, has over it an elaborate tabernacle made about the year 1367 under Urban V, and by the help of Charles V, King of France. The heads of the apostles SS. Peter and Paul were placed under the altar at the same time, together with other relics. The frescoes, originally the work of a Sienese painter, represent (1) Madonna and Child, attended by S. John the Baptist, SS. Stephen, and Laurence; (2) Christ feeding His Sheep attended by the doctors of the Church; (3) the Crucifixion, with the apostles SS. Peter, Paul, Andrew, and James; (4) The Coronation of the Virgin, with the Annunciation at one side, and S. Catherine of Alexandria

and S. Antony the Abbot at the other. This tabernacle is probably the last work in the Gothic style done in Rome.

The altar of the Sacrament was erected by Clement VIII at the farther end of the transept. Two of the four gilt columns may possibly have formed part of the basilica of Constantine. Over the altar there is preserved the table which, according to tradition, served for the Last Supper. On marble reliefs to the right and left are represented the instruments of the Passion. In the sculptures at the side of the altar Melchisedek, giving bread to Abraham, is opposite the fall of manna. The large statues represent Aaron, the Pope, Moses, and perhaps S. John the Baptist. To the right of the altar of the Sacrament is the entrance to the sacristies, etc., and the chapel used as the winter choir.

The apse has been enlarged and redecorated under Popes Pius IX and Leo XIII. A lavish use of magnificent material has produced a certain rich and luxurious effect, and the area now enclosed within the choir gives a sense of dignified spaciousness to this part of the church. Its greatest ornament is the **mosaic** in the semidome, which has been replaced in its ancient form as nearly as possible. The mosaic was the work of *Jacobus Torriti*, assisted by *Giacomo da Camerino.* It was executed in the end of the thirteenth century. As at S. Maria Maggiore, it is uncertain how far the work is due to the artists of the time of Nicholas IV (1288–94) and how much of it is a restoration of an ancient design. The bust of Christ in the upper part of the semidome is said to have been placed in the spot where He miraculously appeared at the consecration of the church. Its style marks it off from the rest of the work, and makes the opinion probable that it is part of the old design. Christ is surrounded by nine angels, most likely intended to represent the nine choirs.

Beneath the figure of Christ is the dove of the Holy Spirit, and from it the rays of divine power and love descend upon the fountain of the water of life which is parted into the four rivers of Paradise and finally

gathered into the mystical stream "Jordanes," in which all kinds of living things find the joy of existence. Over the fountain is a cross of highly ornate form with the baptism of Christ represented at the crossing of the arms. In the water of the rivers stags and sheep quench their thirst, thus signifying the refreshment of soul and the new life which men gain in the waters of baptism. At the foot of the mountain stands the holy city, the New Jerusalem; in its midst rises the tree of life. In the branches of this tree rests the nimbed phœnix, and the gate of the city is guarded by an angel with six wings and a flaming sword.

To the spectator's left of the cross and fountain stand Madonna, S. Francis, S. Peter, and S. Paul. Madonna lays her hand on the head of the kneeling Pope Nicholas IV, S. Peter has on his scroll "TV ES XPS FILIVS DEI" (see John VI. 69), rendered in the Revised Version, "Thou art the Holy One of God." On S. Paul's scroll we read "SALVATOREM EXPECTAMVS $\overline{\text{DNM}}$ $\overline{\text{IC}}$" (see Phil. III. 20), where the whole verse is rendered, "For our citizenship is in heaven; from whence also we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ."

On the spectator's right S. John the Baptist stands next to the fountain. He is followed by S. Antony of Padua, and SS. John and Andrew. S. John has on his scroll the first words of his gospel, and S. Andrew bears the writing "TE ES MAGIST MEVS XC. Q."

Pope Nicholas IV and *Jacobus Torriti* were Franciscans, and this accounts for the presence of S. Francis and S. Antony of Padua.

Beneath the mosaic of the semidome, and between the windows, are figures of the nine apostles who do not appear in the vault. Between them are trees, symbols of Paradise and of the eternal felicity of the just.

The entrance to the ambulacrum which passes round the outside of the choir is to the right of the winter choir. The first door to the left leads into the **sacristies.** At each side of the doorway is a beautiful marble inscription which gives an inventory of the possessions of the basilica. In one of the sacristies there is a relief

with SS. John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Augustine, and Francis; and in the Sala del Capitolo there is a sketch attributed to *Raphael* for the picture known as Madonna di Casa Alba. Returning to the ambulacrum there is farther on, and to the right, the epitaph of *Andrea Sacchi*, a Roman painter who died in 1661. In the passage behind the choir are statues of SS. Peter and Paul, characteristic examples of Romanesque sculpture. The drapery is distinctly fine, but there is a certain rigidity of pose and want of skill in fully realizing expression.

The cloisters are entered by a door near to the altar of the Sacrament. An inscription bearing the name Vassalectus shows that the work is due to the succession of marble workers bearing that name. It is dated in the early years of the thirteenth century.

On entering we turn to the left. Many fragments saved from restorations are preserved in the cloister. Note the remains of an episcopal throne adorned with marble mosaics. A little farther on is an inscription concerning the burial of the Empress Helena.

The red porphyry table on which, according to tradition, the soldiers cast lots for the seamless robe is let into the wall.

Farther on a slab is supported by four columns at a height from the ground which is supposed to be a measure of the stature of Christ. The well in the centre of the cloister is traditionally the well from which the woman of Samaria drew water that Christ might drink. The well-head is covered with sculpture such as is common in Lombard work of the tenth to the twelfth centuries.

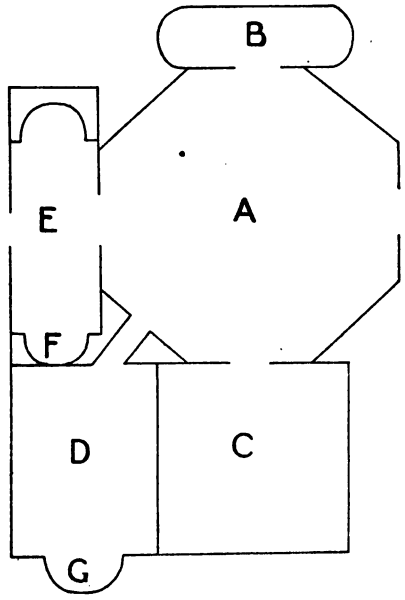
These cloisters belong to a series including those at S. Paul's without the Walls, S. Scholastica at Subiaco, and Sasso Vivo, near Foligno. They are works of the first half of the thirteenth century, and they are the finest monuments of the Roman school of marble masons.

The cloisters of S. John Lateran are the most characteristic of the number. The delicate elaboration of the cornice, the charm of the yellowing marble, the simplicity and refinement of the forms, and the grace of

every detail, show how keenly sensitive these marble workers were to everything that can stimulate a cultivated feeling for all that is most beautiful.

THE LATERAN BAPTISTERY AND ITS ORATORIES.

These monuments and the chapel known as the Sancta Sanctorum are the only remnants of the vast



Plan xix. Baptistery and Oratories, Lateran.

buildings which grew up around the church of the Lateran from the fourth century to the sixteenth.

The foundation of the baptistery (**A on plan xix**) is attributed to Constantine. The erection of the eight columns, enclosing the area in which the baptismal

font stands, is attributed to Sixtus III (432–40). The two oratories, dedicated to S. John the Baptist (**B** on plan), and to S. John the Evangelist (**C** on plan), were added by Pope Hilary I (461–8) as a thank-offering for his escape from the robber synod of Ephesus.

The oratory of S. Venanzio (**D** on plan) was dedicated by John IV (640–2), and Anastasius IV (1150–54) enclosed the ancient portico of entrance to the baptistery (**E** on plan), and adorned the semidome with mosaics.

The baptistery and its surrounding oratories have for their common centre the ancient porphyry basin, to which some strange memories are attached. It is well known that the Emperor Constantine was only baptized as a Christian shortly before his death at Nicomedia, but the mediæval legend connects the event with this baptistery. Constantine was struck with leprosy, and after having refused to cure himself by bathing in the blood of infants, he saw a vision which was interpreted to him by Pope Sylvester as being a revelation of SS. Peter and Paul. This was followed by the baptism of the Emperor in the Lateran, as it is represented in the thirteenth-century frescoes of SS. Quattro Coronati.

Another famous scene was enacted in the baptistery about a thousand years later, when Cola di Rienzo was preparing for the grand ceremony of the 2nd of August, 1347, the date fixed for the meeting of the representatives of the Italian cities on the Capitol, to celebrate the festival of Italian unity. Cola made ready for the great day by cleansing himself from the stain of sin in the basin of Constantine. On entering the baptistery, the large seventeenth-century paintings upon the walls first attract attention. Standing at the entrance, those to the right represent the Vision of Constantine, the Death of Maxentius, and the Entry of Constantine. Those to the left depict the burning of pagan books and the throwing down of the idols.

Turning to the right, we enter the **Oratory of S. Giovanni Battista** (**B** on plan). The bronze doors are said to have been removed from the baths of Cara-

calla. In the oratory there is an eighteenth-century copy of Donatello's statue of John the Baptist, the original of which is preserved in one of the sacristies of the church.

Opposite to the door by which we enter the baptistery is the door leading into the ancient portico enclosed by Anastasius IV (E on plan). The **mosaic** over the altar to the right has been destroyed; that to the left (F on plan), dating probably from the fifth century, is an example of the magnificent colouring so often found in early mosaics. In the semicircle at the top is the Lamb, with doves on each side. The design of the foliage is exceedingly beautiful. It is an early example of the style used many centuries later in the mosaic of S. Clemente. The tree of life is treated with a fine sense of freedom, and the glorious blues and greens, lit up with the lamps which lighten the deeper shadows of the luxuriant verdure, show a sensibility to the beauty of colour which has seldom been exceeded. Note the porphyry columns in the doorway.

Opposite to the oratory of S. John the Baptist is that of ***S.* John the Evangelist** (C on plan). The bronze doors are of the time of Celestine III (1191–8). Notice the interesting representation of the Lateran. The mosaic on the roof dates from the Papacy of Hilary (461–7). In the centre is the Lamb with a nimbus. In the eight divisions of the vault there are birds and vases of fruit. The birds—parroquets, doves, partridges, and ducks, are supposed to signify the four elements—fire, air, earth, and water. The vases of fruit represent the four seasons, which are an allegory of the course of human life; for as spring follows winter, so resurrection comes after death. Thus if the birds be regarded as emblems of the elements, and the vases symbolize the course of human life, the design as a whole finds its synthesis in the Lamb, who was the Creator of the elements, and declared Himself to be the resurrection and the life.

To the right of the entrance is a fifteenth-century tabernacle for holy oil, and to the left a relief of S.

John with the chalice. S. Leo the Great kneels before him.

One other oratory is connected with the baptistery, that of **S. Venanzio** (D on plan), which was consecrated by Pope John IV (640–2). The mosaics in the chapel were executed during his Papacy and that of his successor, Theodore I (642–9). Pope John IV was a Dalmatian, and the saints upon the face of the arch represent martyrs who suffered in the persecutions of the Emperors in that province. SS. Anastasius and Domnino are, for instance, the patrons of Spalato and Salona.

In the semidome (G on plan) there is a figure of Christ in blessing; below stands Madonna, in the attitude of prayer; to the spectator's left SS. Paul, John the Evangelist, Venantius, and Pope John IV; to the right of Madonna SS. Peter, John the Baptist, Domnino, and Pope Theodore. All are nimbed except the two Popes. On the face of the arch and above the semidome are the symbols of the four evangelists, and at the sides the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem. At each side of the semidome are four saints; to the spectator's left stand SS. Anastasius, Asterius, Telius, and Paulinianus; to the right SS. Maurus, Septimus Antiochianus, and Gaianus.

These mosaics are about two hundred years later than those in the oratory of S. John the Evangelist, and in the ancient portico. A comparison between them affords an apt illustration of the effect upon art of the spread of barbarism, and of that curious veiling of the human intellect which characterizes the period between the Gothic wars and the rise of the Karling Empire.

Leo III (795–816) built a large **triclinium** in the palace of the Lateran. The building was destroyed with the rest of the palace by Sixtus V. In 1743 Benedict XIV caused the present mosaic to be copied from old drawings.

In the semidome Christ gives His blessing. He stands on the mountain from which flow the four rivers of Paradise. He has around Him eleven apostles, who

receive the command of Matthew xxviii. 19, 20, rendered in the Revised Version, "Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations," etc. On the face of the arch to the spectator's left Christ, seated on a throne, gives the keys to S. Sylvester and the banner to Constantine. To the right S. Peter is enthroned. He gives the pallium to Pope Leo III and the banner to Charles the Great.

The **Scala Santa** formed part of the Lateran palace. It was removed to its present situation at the side of the Sancta Sanctorum when Sixtus V (1585–90) destroyed the ancient palace. The centre of the three stairways is traditionally the stair from the house of Pilate in Jerusalem, which was brought to Rome by the Empress Helena. Penitents climb up it on their knees, the two side stairs being provided for the descent. At the top of the stairs is the chapel known as the **Sancta Sanctorum**, which remains as it was restored and rebuilt by Nicholas III (1277–81). The vault of the chapel springs from four gilded pillars, and on the upper part of the wall there is fine Gothic arcading formed of cusped arches resting on twisted columns. Along the cornice under which the altar is placed is the inscription "Non est in toto sanctior orbe locus."

The chapel forms the shrine for the picture of Christ which, according to tradition, was "made without hands." It is said to have been taken from Jerusalem to Constantinople, and it is supposed to have been brought to Rome during the Iconoclast controversy.

S. Croce in Gerusalemme lies at the end of the broad avenue which stretches away from Galilei's façade of S. John Lateran. The church occupies the site of the Sessorian Palace, where in the time of Constantine, his mother, the Empress Helena, lived. In her zeal for Christianity she went to Jerusalem, and there she found the true cross. According to tradition, part of it was left in Jerusalem, part of it was sent to Constantinople, and part of it was brought to Rome.

The basilica of the palace is said to have been made into a church.

The Empress brought relics from Jerusalem, and earth, to form a holy place; so that those who could not go on pilgrimage might have their faith strengthened by this similitude of the Holy City. In later times it became common to connect places in Italy with sacred sites, as at Loreto, and at the Sacro Monte in Val Sesia, where the Passion was reproduced in great detail.

The **relics** connected with the Passion are kept in a chapel behind and above the altar, which is reached by a narrow staircase. They include a part of the true cross, one of the nails, thorns from the crown, and a piece of the column of the flagellation. There is also part of the cross of one of the thieves, and the finger with which S. Thomas convinced himself of the reality of the wound in the side. The inscription on the cross was found in the church at the end of the fifteenth century, and is still preserved here. The reliquary of S. Gregory (which contains a number of relics) is in the form of a cross. The Father Eternal is figured at the top, on the arms are Mary and S. John, at the crossing is the symbol of the pelican, beneath is Adam, and at the foot Mary Magdalene.

At the end of the right aisle there is an inscription regarding Benedict VII (975–83). At this period the Roman nobles representing the national party were engaged in a fierce struggle against the German influence of the Saxon Emperors. Members of the family of Crescentius appear as the Roman leaders, and the Papacy was the prize for which each party fought. One of the Crescentii, it is supposed, had instigated an insurrection during which Benedict VI had been strangled in the Castle of S. Angelo. A national Pope, Boniface VII, was elected. He, however, only ruled long enough to gather together the goods of the church, and then he fled to Constantinople. Benedict VII was nominated by the Emperor, Otho II. He represented the better tendencies of one of the most disastrous periods in the history of the Papacy. His

name occurs as the Pope who consecrated the church in the monastery of S. Scholastica at Subiaco.

The most interesting part of the church is the **chapel of S. Helena,** which is reached by descending a stair from the left transept. The vault of this subterranean chapel is supposed to have been covered with mosaics in the century succeeding the time of the Empress. These were, however, restored in 1537 from designs by Baldassare Peruzzi, and no trace of any ancient work is now to be seen. In the centre is a figure of Christ, who bears an open book with the words "Ego sum lux mundi, A et W." Within the aureole are choirs of angels; some of them play on musical instruments. Round about the figure of Christ are the four evangelists with their symbols. The spaces between are filled with small scenes connected with the history of the finding of the true cross. Between SS. Matthew and Luke S. Helen lands in Palestine; between SS. Mark and John the true cross is indicated by its power to heal a sick person; between SS. Mark and Luke the cross is carried to Rome; between SS. Matthew and John Pope S. Sylvester and S. Helena adore the cross as it appears in the sky. On the soffit of the arch over the window is the Paschal Lamb with SS. Peter and Paul; on the soffit of the arch over the entrance are the instruments of the Passion with SS. Sylvester and Helena.

Opposite to the chapel of S. Helena there is a small chapel with statues of SS. Peter and Paul.

***SS.* Quattro Coronati** is five to seven minutes' walk from the Piazza of S. John Lateran.

This church represents a construction of early times, probably of the period of Leo the Great. It lay on the line of devastation worked by the Normans under Robert Guiscard in 1084, and the building was much damaged. The rebuilding was undertaken by Paschal II (1099–1118), and since then it has undergone several restorations. If it is approached from the direction of S. Clemente, the effect of its fortress-like apse and its campanili is very striking. The church itself is reached

through two courts: one is the atrium, and the other is part of the nave of the older church in which some of the ancient pillars appear.

The "four crowned martyrs" in whose names the church was dedicated were Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus. These soldiers were put to death under Diocletian for refusing to worship an image of Æsculapius. They received their title from Pope Melchiades (311–14), because their names were unknown. Long afterwards their names were revealed and "it was established that their memory should be worshipped under the names of five other martyrs"; viz. Claudian, Castor, Symphorian, Nicostratus, and Simplician. These men were sculptors, and the four first named were Christians. They excelled all their fellows in workmanship, and when Simplician tried to find out their secret, they converted him to Christianity, thus giving him skill in his work and the promise of eternal life. All five suffered martyrdom for refusing to sculpture a figure of Æsculapius. It is said that the relics of the four soldier saints and the five sculptor saints have all been preserved in the church.

To the right of the forecourt of the church is the **chapel of S. Sylvester.** On its walls there are a number of frescoes assigned to the thirteenth century. They are harsh and stiff in style, with no grace either of design or colour. The principal fresco occupying the end of the chapel is a picture of the Judgment. Christ is seated on a throne. He shows the wounds, and in His left hand there is a jewelled cross. Round about are the instruments of the Passion. The Virgin and S. John the Baptist stand to the spectator's left and right. The apostles, with deeply marked and careworn faces, are seated six at each side, headed by SS. Peter and Paul. Above an angel rolls up the heavens as a scroll, and another sounds the trumpet, although there is no representation of the rising of the bodies from the tombs. The scene is not carried further than the opening of the sixth seal.

The rest of the frescoes are concerned with the story

of S. Sylvester and the Emperor Constantine. The three opening scenes are under the picture of the Judgment. Constantine has become leprous as a punishment for the persecution of Christians. He has been advised to cleanse himself in a bath of the blood of children. The mothers bring their babes, but the Emperor will not accept the offering. In the next picture the Emperor is asleep, and he sees in a vision SS. Peter and Paul. They bid him to send for Pope Sylvester, who had fled to Mount Soracte for safety. Three messengers set out to summon the Pope.

Turning now to the side wall, we see S. Sylvester presenting likenesses of SS. Peter and Paul. The Emperor recognizes them as those who had appeared to him, and he asks for the names of the gods, so that he may pray to them. S. Sylvester tells him that they are the two apostles, and expounds Christian doctrine to him. Then follows the baptism in the famous vase of porphyry. S. Sylvester lays his hand on the Emperor's head, who is no longer leprous. The next picture shows Sylvester on a throne wearing an ordinary mitre. The Emperor hurries towards him, offering the cap known as the phrygium, a layman rides out of the gate on a white horse with a rich saddle-cloth, while another layman presents an umbrella. In the last scene Pope Sylvester is mounted on the gaily caparisoned white horse. He is crowned with the phrygium. A layman bears the umbrella over his head. The Emperor, crowned and robed, leads his horse, and a layman bears the sword of state. The procession enters the city gate, headed by an ecclesiastic bearing the cross. The frescoes have been designed by some one well acquainted with the eighth-century document known as the Donation of Constantine. In it the Emperor confers the phrygium and the whole array of the imperial dignity on the Bishop. The Roman clergy are to ride on horses adorned with saddle-cloths of the purest white, and in reverence for the blessed Peter the Emperor is to hold the bridle of the Bishop's horse, and do for him the duties of a groom

A single fresco remains on the opposite wall. It represents the finding of the true cross by the Empress Helena. Other pictures on this wall are being cleared from the plaster and whitewash with which they have been covered. The picture in which the Emperor Constantine leads the Pope's horse recalls the quarrel which happened when Adrian IV met Frederick Barbarossa. Frederick received the Pope with much ceremony, but he did not present himself to hold the papal stirrup. When the King did appear and knelt to kiss the feet of the Pope, the latter refused to give the kiss of peace, declaring that S. Peter had been dishonoured. Frederick was obliged to yield, and perform that part of the groom's office which was exacted.

The church itself is not remarkable except for the gallery known as a matroneum. The columns in the nave have antique capitals, and the marble floor is distinctly fine. In the right aisle there is the tomb of Aloysio de Aquino, and in the left an inscription cut in the style associated with the name of Pope Damasus.

S. Stefano Rotondo is close to S. Maria in Domnica, and the arch of Dolabella. It is some ten or twelve minutes' walk from the Piazza of S. John Lateran. At one time it was believed that this church had formed part of a pagan temple or a market, built in the time of Nero. It is now thought that it was built for a Christian church in the fifth century. The point cannot, however, yet be considered as settled.

S. Stefano is remarkable for its circular plan. This form of building is not uncommon in the case of tombs such as those of the Empress Helena, and of S. Costanza in Rome, and of the tomb of Theodoric at Ravenna; nor is it unusual in the separate buildings used as baptisteries. The circular ground plan for churches, however, never became popular in the west. In this instance the visitor will be struck by the simplicity and spaciousness of the design.

The Church of S. Stefano was probably built during the Papacy of Simplicius (468–82). It was, at any rate, consecrated by that Pope. In the sixth century it was

decorated with rich marbles. Theodore I (642–9) brought the bodies of SS. Primus and Felicianus and transformed the portico of entrance into a chapel to the left of the present entrance. The seventh century **mosaic** commemorating the two saints still exists. Out of a flowery meadow there arises a jewelled cross with the bust of Christ above. The saints are heavily draped, their expression is severe, and the art is somewhat barbarous.

Over the cross is an aureole with the bust of Christ, and above is the hand of God the Father. SS. Primus and Felicianus, martyred in the time of Diocletian, stand to the right and left.

The transverse wall in the interior of the church, which is supported by great columns with Corinthian capitals, has been assigned to the time of Adrian I (772–95). Originally the church was much larger. A third circle of pillars was destroyed in the time of Nicholas V (1447–55), and the spaces between the second circle filled up with the present wall.

The frescoes upon the walls of the basilica were painted by *Pomerancio*. They represent scenes of martyrdom, and are of no artistic merit.

S. Maria in Domnica is close to the arch of Dolabella and S. Stefano Rotondo.

This church, according to tradition, is built on the site of the house of Cyriaca, a Christian widow, and this was one of the places where S. Lawrence is said to have distributed the goods of the church which Pope Sixtus II had confided to his care. The church which arose from the house of Cyriaca was rebuilt by Pope Paschal I (817–24). The fabric was restored by Cardinal Giovanni dei Medici (Leo X), who employed Raphael for the purpose about the year 1500. Note the frieze of lions round the walls. The comparatively modern name of "S. Maria della Navicella" is derived from the small marble boat, now in front of the façade which Leo X substituted in place of an ancient Roman boat, a votive offering to Jupiter the Returner.

The most interesting monument in the church is the **mosaic** in the semidome, and on the face of the arch over it. The work belongs to the Papacy of Pope Paschal I. It is nearly contemporaneous with the mosaics of S. Teodoro (772–95), the triclinium of Leo III (795–816), S. Cecilia, S. Prassede (817–24), and S. Marco (827–44). These monumental works were the result of the peace and security which the Papacy enjoyed during its alliance with the Karlings, and while their power was effective in Italy.

On the face of the arch, Christ is in the centre, surrounded by an aureole and wearing a nimbus. This figure must share with the Christ of S. Cecilia the distinction of being the poorest in design of all the conceptions of Christ in the Roman mosaics.

At each side an angel awaits the divine command, and the apostles, robed in white, stand in a field strewn with flowers. This completes the upper part of the picture. Below and at the sides of the semidome two figures, probably prophets, point to the Vision of Christ above. In the semidome, instead of the usual figure of the full-grown Christ, Madonna is seated holding the divine Child. On the supporting arm is a maniple. The Child is heavily robed; He holds a scroll, and gives the blessing. With a gesture natural to one of southern blood the Virgin presents her son to the world. She is seated on a chair of state, and the court of heaven gathered at the side of the throne bow in reverent adoration. Pope Paschal, with a square nimbus (to indicate that he was alive at the time) kneels at the feet of the Virgin, and the whole scene is set in a garden of flowers. Madonna has an expressionless face, framed in a tightly drawn veil, with a straight outline above the large round eyes. The figures of the angels are tall and thin; the drapery and gesture are repeated in each case, and the impression of number is rendered by a succession of nimbuses receding into the background with some sense of perspective. The whole design is elementary and rude; but its effect as a piece of decorative colour far exceeds many more pretentious works. Green, white,

and gold predominate ; and although the artist has no skill as a draughtsman, his eye for colour must have been sensitive and keen.

SS. Giovanni e Paolo may be most conveniently visited at the same time as S. Gregorio and S. Maria in Domnica.

SS. John and Paul belonged to the household of Constantia, daughter of the Emperor Constantine. They served in the wars in the East, and by persuading the Roman general to make a vow to God they were the means of his gaining a victory over the barbarians. The two saints inherited riches from Constantia, and when Julian the apostate knew this, he insisted that they should serve him as they had Constantia. When they refused, he caused them to be beheaded and buried in their house. After their martyrdom a certain Byzantius built a church on the site. The existence of the buildings under the present surface was forgotten, and it was only in 1887 that they were discovered.

The church forms a fine mass of building. As it is approached from below, the apse, with its open arcading, is most picturesque. From the little piazza in front of the church the campanile, resting on ancient masonry, and seen from foundation to summit, is perhaps the most striking in Rome. The door leading into the upper church is flanked by twelfth-century sculptures. On the right there is the figure of a lion destroying a boar, and on the left there is a lion with the figure of a naked man. On entering we pass along the right aisle and through a gorgeously decorated chapel, in which are preserved the relics of S. Paolo della Croce (*d.* 1775), who founded the congregation of the Passionists.

A staircase leads to the remains of the ancient **house of John and Paul.**

These buildings are all of brick, and are at different levels. They include the kitchen, the wine-cellar, the baths, the dining-room, and the reception-room of a Roman house.

This example of the domestic architecture of the

fourth century has been preserved (as in so many other parts of the city) by the general raising of the level of the ground. The Cœlian hill suffered most severely in the Norman sack of 1084, and the destruction of that time, which was sufficient to bury the Church of S. Clemente, has helped to save for us this interesting illustration of domestic life in Imperial times.

On reaching the foot of the stairs we turn to the right into the dining-hall or triclinium. The decoration is pagan in character. There is a frieze of semi-nude figures connected by festoons of flowers, and interspersed with birds. Above is a delicate running scroll of genii, birds, and branches with leaves and flowers. In the next room, which was the kitchen, there are remains of pavement. In the next chamber to the left a few steps lead up to an ancient fresco of the Crucifixion. To the spectator's left Madonna stands supported by one of the women who followed Christ. To the right S. John stands with a jewelled book in his hand. Four angels appear above the cross, but there is no inscription. Christ is erect, the eyes are open, the nimbus is cruciform, the feet are nailed separately, and the figure is clothed in a sleeveless robe. The lance and sponge-bearer are present, and there are fragments showing the casting of lots and the entombment.

From this room a corridor is reached in which is preserved a fresco attributed to the tenth or eleventh century, in which Christ stands with outstretched hands while the angels Michael and Gabriel present SS. John and Paul. The large room in a line with the last-mentioned apartment was the reception-room of the house. The frescoes in it are much damaged. On the vaulting there may be seen part of a figure, probably that of the Good Shepherd. To the right and left are designs with sheep and goats separated by trees. These are supposed to signify the souls of the blessed and the damned. Other parts of the vault have semi-pagan decorations, such as masks and composite animals. On the wall of entrance there is an orante. The side walls have been panelled, and although the principal decora-

tion has been destroyed, there are still friezes of vine foliage.

Over the door of exit is the inscription "Introitus ad Sanctos," etc., and by it we reach a passage supposed to be the place of martyrdom. The inscription is: "In ipsis visceribus civitatis sanctorum Johannis et Pauli victricia membra recondita sunt"; also: "In hac aev. crypta viri sancti Johannis et Paulus gloriosam sanguinem fuderunt pro domino imp. Juliani an II."

From this chamber a steep stair leads to apartments on a lower level, including baths.

Returning to the large reception-room, a stair leads to a small chamber with frescoes similar in style to such as may be found in the catacombs. In the end wall is a grill, and at each side a headless figure. On the wall to the right is a representation of the martyrdom of the two saints. On the left is another martyrdom of SS. Crispus Crispinianus, etc. This is supposed to be the most ancient instance of the representation of a martyrdom known to us. Beneath the grill is a figure of one of the martyrs, with arms extended in prayer. Two figures representing pilgrims kneel in deep devotion at his feet.

Descending into the reception-hall again, another exit from it leads to a small niche in which is the following inscription: "Retrosanctus primum in urbe Roma beatorum martyrium corpora Johnannis et Pauli in Monte Caelio in domo eorum quæ facta est ecclesia post eorum martyrium et Crispus et Crispinianus et sancta Benedicta."

Beyond this niche is a chamber with a number of wine-jars which bear the Christian monogram.

On returning to the Church the sacristan will show in a small room to the left of the choir a fresco of Christ with three apostles on each side. The figures are separated by columns.

S. Gregorio is near the Via S. Gregorio, which connects the arch of Constantine and the Colosseum with the Via di Porta San Sebastiano. This church is built

on the site of the private house of Gregory the Great (590–604). Gregory was the son of Gordianus, a member of the family of the Anicii, one of the greater Roman houses, which had existed since the time of Constantine, and which could boast of many illustrious names. Junius Bassus, Paulinus of Nola, Sextus Anicius, Probus (whose sarcophagus is in the Capella della Pietà at S. Peter's), Petronius Maximus (who caused Valentinian III to be murdered, and succeeded him as Emperor for a few weeks), Olybrius (Emperor in 472), Felix III, Pope 483–92, and Boethius, who suffered imprisonment and death at the hands of Theodoric, all belonged to the family of the Anicii. Gregory was born about 540. Before becoming a monk he took part in the civil government of the city, and in the service of the Papacy. His real mission, however, was to continue the work of S. Benedict, and to extend the influence of the Roman bishopric. His own house was turned into a monastery, dedicated in the name of S. Andrew, and governed under the rule of S. Benedict. He entered it as a monk, and ultimately became abbot. In 590 he was elected Pope, and in 596 he sent Augustine, with a number of companions, to christianize England. Augustine, who was the leader of the missionaries to England, and who became the first Archbishop of Canterbury, was a monk in the monastery of S. Andrew. For travellers of English race this spot has therefore a peculiar interest. The present form of the atrium and façade is mainly due to rebuilding in the eighteenth century. The church is approached by a fine flight of steps. In the atrium to the left is the tomb of Edward Carne, the English envoy to the Court of Rome, who was also concerned in the matter of the divorce of Catherine of Aragon. Nearer to the church, and also to the left, is the Guidiccioni tomb ; opposite is the tomb of Anthony and Michael Bonsius.

At the end of the right aisle of the church in a small side chapel, a recess is shown in which S. Gregory is said to have slept. His marble chair is also preserved here. In the Salviati Chapel, at the end of the left

aisle, there is a bas-relief in alabaster commemorating the apparition of the angel over the tomb of Hadrian.

There are three chapels to the left of the church, and standing separate from it. The first is dedicated in the name of S. Silvia, the mother of S. Gregory, On the roof there is a fresco by *Guido Reni* (1574–1642). The next chapel is dedicated in the name of S. Andrew. To the left is a fresco by *Guido Reni*, S. Andrew venerating the cross on his way to martyrdom. On the right is the flagellation of S. Andrew, by *Domenichino* (1581–1641). The third chapel is dedicated in the name of S. Barbara. On the right wall two frescoes commemorate the sending of missionaries to England. The table on which S. Gregory fed the poor is preserved here, and there is also a statue of the saint.

CHURCHES ON THE ESQUILINE AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

CHURCHES ON THE ESQUILINE AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

S. Maria Maggiore

MAY be reached by electric trams (marked "Esquilino") running from the Piazza Venezia to the railway station, or by trams running from the Piazza S. Sylvestro. It is also close to the tram route between the Piazza Venezia and S. John Lateran.

According to tradition the church owes its foundation to a vision seen by a certain Patrician John. He was childless, and desiring to leave his goods for the service of God, it was shown to him that he should build a church. On the same night, between 4 and 5 August, probably in the year 352, Pope Liberius had a similar vision. The Patrician went to the Pope and told him of his dream, and Liberius perceived that it was a divine admonition. The snow which was sent to indicate the site for the church was found lying on the Esquiline, and thither Liberius went with the clergy and the people and marked out the foundations.

The next scene in its history is concerned with the struggle between Arians and Trinitarians, which divided the Church in the fourth century. On the death of Liberius the two parties in Rome came to open strife. Ursicinus was elected by one side and Damasus by the other. The latter seized the Lateran and was consecrated there. Some of the party of Ursicinus took refuge in the Liberian basilica. They were attacked by Damasus and his party, and 160, or, according to other accounts, 137 men and women were slain. The building is said to have suffered from fire during the

fight. In the next century another controversy affected the history of the Church.

The victory of the followers of Cyril of Alexandria over those of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus in 431 was, according to one tradition, celebrated by Pope Sixtus III, who decorated the triumphal arch with the mosaics which still exist. The difference between the two parties took the form of a dispute as to the correct description of the relationship between Christ and the Virgin Mary. The Council decided in favour of Cyril, and the formula "Mother of God," to which Nestorius had objected, was accepted. It is said that it was in reference to this decision that the church was consecrated in the name of S. Maria dei Genetrix.

The church has been known as the Liberian Basilica from its supposed founder. It has been known as the Basilica Sicinina from the name of the previous owner of the site, or, as some say, from Ursicinus, the opponent of Pope Damasus. It was also called "ad Præsepe" before the boards of the cradle were brought to Rome. The name "ad Nives," from the traditional incident of the foundation, was also used. And for many centuries it has been called Sta. Maria Maggiore.

The exterior. The first considerable addition to the church after the early centuries was the building of the towers about the middle of the twelfth century. In the reign of Pope Nicholas IV (1287–92), and in succeeding years, the church was restored.

The mosaics on the façade towards the Lateran belong to this period.

The upper range bears the name of *Filippo Rusutti*, and the lower tiers, giving an account of the foundation of the church, have been attributed to *Gaddo Gaddi*, who is supposed to have come to Rome in 1308. In the upper part Christ is seated on a throne in a star-lit aureole. Outside the aureole two angels bear censers, and two hold candles. At a higher level there are the four living things, symbols of the Evangelists. To the spectator's left of the central aureole stand Madonna, S. Paul, and S. James. S. Paul's scroll bears the words

"Michi vive," etc., "referring to Philippians I. 21: "For me to live is Christ." To the right of the aureole stand SS. John the Baptist, Peter, and Andrew. On S. Peter's scroll are the words "Tu es xpc fili dei vivi," probably founded on John VI. 69, which is rendered in the Authorized Version: ". . . Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." These figures are short, heavy, and inexpressive. Note also the monstrously large feet.

Beneath this upper design there is a series representing the story of the foundation. To the spectator's left there are two pictures of Madonna and Child. Beneath the one Pope Liberius is inspired, beneath the other the Patrician John receives a ray of light directing him as to what he should do. To the spectator's right the patrician kneels before the Pope, and in the pictures to the extreme right, snow falls from the heavens in which Christ and Madonna appear. In the picture below, the Pope, with clergy and people, traces out the foundations of the church.

The mosaics of Rusutti and Gaddi, dating from the early years of the fourteenth century, may be compared with two other series of pictures in Rome, viz. the frescoes in SS. Quattro Coronati, and the mosaics of the scenes from the life of Madonna below the semidome in S. Maria in Trastevere. The pictures in SS. Quattro Coronati have been assigned to a period about half a century earlier than the mosaics of Rusutti, and there can be no doubt that they represent an art inferior in every way. The comparison between the mosaics of S. Maria in Trastevere, attributed to Cavallini about the year 1290, and those of Rusutti, is more difficult. In technical excellence and in artistic capacity Cavallini will probably be judged to be the superior. At the same time, his art is more strictly based on the older tradition of painting, while in that of Rusutti and Gaddi there is something of the naïveté and freshness of the S. Francis series of frescoes in the upper church of Assisi. Gothic detail prevails in the architecture of their designs, and there is a distinct attempt to give a natural rendering of the domestic building of the time, as, for instance,

where the windlass and bucket used for drawing water to the higher storeys of the houses is carefully drawn.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries several chapels were built at the sides of the church. The Sforza chapel, opening out of the left aisle, was designed by Michael Angelo for Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza, and finished by Giacomo della Porta. The Sixtine chapel, opening out of the right aisle near the high altar, was built by Domenico Fontana for Cardinal Montalto before he became Sixtus V. The Pauline chapel opposite was built for Paul V by Flaminio Ponzio. A few remains of frescoes still exist which were displaced by reconstructions. They are analogous in general character to the frescoes of Cavallini in S. Cecilia.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the exterior of the church was entirely altered by the building of the façade towards the Via Sistina by Carlo Rainaldi under Clement X (1670–76), and the façade towards the Lateran which was built by Fuga under Benedict XIV (1740–58).

The situation of the church is fine, and the approach by the great flight of steps from the side of the Via Sistina is striking. Little or nothing can be said for the architectural quality of the exterior of the building: even the effect of the campanile, which is one of the best in Rome, is spoiled by the two domes raised over the Sixtine and Pauline chapels. In the **interior**, on the contrary, the church still retains the harmony of its ancient plan. The side chapels have been added in such a manner that they do not interfere seriously with the general appearance of the church. The **nave** of S. Maria Maggiore retains its ancient character, except for the ciborium over the high altar, and the roof, which is said to have been designed for Alexander VI by Guiliano da San Gallo. No other monument on such an important scale so fully illustrates the style of a Christian church in the fourth century. The long rows of columns, the strongly marked horizontal lines of the entablature, the brilliant mosaics, with their mystical foreshadowings,

the unbroken space of the mighty nave, all give a sense of continuous existence, all help us to realize that in this place men have gathered together for fifteen centuries to worship God. The ancient Church of S. Peter's was destroyed by the Popes of the Renaissance, the ancient Churches of S. John and S. Paul have been burnt by fire, S. Lawrence has been mediævalized, the nave of S. Maria Maggiore alone of all the greater churches in Rome remains to tell us of the Christian architecture of the early centuries.

The mosaics of the church are even of greater interest than its form. The orthodox baptistery at Ravenna, and the nave of S. Maria Maggiore, are the two finest examples of early Christian art. The Italian habit of expression by covering wall spaces with mosaic and painting, rather than by means of architectural detail and its allied sculpture is already developed; it distinguishes Roman and Tuscan churches from French examples. The southern artist asks for nothing better than a blank wall or a simple arch with broad unmoulded surfaces, so that he may have space for painting or mosaic. There are four different series of such wall decorations in the church.

(i) The panels on the nave walls.

(ii) The mosaics on the face of the arch of triumph.

(iii) The mosaics of the semidome made or restored at the end of the thirteenth century.

(iv) The mosaics by Rusutti and Gaddo Gaddi on the façade of the church looking towards the Lateran, made in the beginning of the fourteenth century (which have already been described).

The mosaics on the **nave** walls have recently been examined by Dr. Richter and Miss Taylor (*The Golden Age of Christian Art*). They think that the basilica probably existed from about the end of the second century as part of the house of the Sicininii. They find the artistic relationship of the work closer to the times of Marcus Aurelius and Septimus Severus than to the mosaics of S. Pudenziana or Sta. Sabina. The ideas expressed belong to the times of Justin Martyr, Irenæus,

and Clement of Alexandria, rather than to the doctors of the fifth century. They therefore set aside the commonly received opinion that Pope Liberius (352–66) founded the church, and that the mosaics date from some later period. If these investigations stand the test of criticism we must regard the mosaics of the nave and on the face of the triumphal arch as the earliest and most important of all the large systems of biblical illustrations.

According to tradition, the history of the Israelites was a prophecy of the coming of the Messiah. Christ and the Christian Church were to be found on every page of the Old Testament. From this point of view the histories of Abraham, of Melchizedek, of Moses, of the wanderings of the Israelites, and of their final victory under Joshua, naturally lead up to the manifestation of Christ on the face of the triumphal arch.

The detail of treatment and the style of these early mosaics is of the greatest interest as bearing on the history of the development of Christian art, and certainly no one will regret the time necessary to appreciate the freshness and beauty of these charming pictures. In the following list suggestions are offered of the subjects which are represented.

Mosaic panels in the nave. Begin to the left of the high altar.

(1) Melchizedek offers bread to Abraham. A divine presence with nimbus is seen in the sky. The soldiers are on horseback, and are armed as Romans.

(2) Abraham meets and entertains the three angels, who are all nimbed. The angel in the centre is surrounded by shining light in the form of a mandorla. In the lower part of the panel the angels sit at table; servants wait on them.

(3) Separation of Abraham and Lot. The patriarchs stand at the head of their respective families, ready to take different roads. The child of Lot is unclad. The lower part of the panel represents a landscape in most natural fashion. A horse frisks about, and a man shoots with bow and arrows.

(4) Isaac blesses Jacob. In the upper part of the mosaic Isaac is lying on his bed. He lays his hand on Jacob's head. Rebecca watches, standing on one side. Outside is a garden with trees and plants, and a small table in the form of a classical tripod. In the lower scene Esau presents his dish. Rebecca's gesture is that of angry warning. The servants have short tunics and long buskins.

(5) Modern mosaic, representing the dream of Jacob.

(6) Rachel tells her father that she has seen Jacob, and below Laban receives Jacob into his house. Shepherds and sheep in the background. Care is taken in the pastoral scenes to distinguish the shepherds. Note the small crosses over Jacob and his flock.

(7) Jacob serves seven years for Rachel. Another pastoral scene. The lower picture is destroyed.

(8) In the upper part of the picture Jacob claims Rachel as his wife, and in the lower part of the panel they are married.

(9) Laban and Jacob agree to divide the flocks and herds according to their colours. Below Jacob drives off the ringstraked and spotted, which are to be accounted as the hire for his service.

(10) Jacob receives the divine command to return to his own country, and in the scene below Leah and Rachel receive the message and prepare for the journey. The trick by which Jacob gains the increase of the flocks for himself is incidentally illustrated. Note the vision in the sky, and the clouds touched with brilliant colour.

(11) A comparatively modern substitution, having no relation to the general series.

(12) Jacob sends messengers to Esau, and the brothers are reconciled. The messengers, clothed as shepherds, stand before Esau and his armed men. In the scene below Esau and Jacob kneel and kiss each other, the one attended by his soldiers, the other by his shepherds.

(13) Modern. Sacrifice of Isaac.

(14) and (15) recount the dealings of Jacob and his sons with Hamor and Shechem. Simeon and Levi

slay the men of Shechem, and their father reproves them, inasmuch as their violence is dangerous.

(16), (17), and (18) are all modern.

Two mosaics on the end wall of entrance are also modern. They are probably intended to represent Jacob wrestling with the angel, and SS. Peter and Paul before Nero.

The series of mosaics is continued on the right wall of the nave, beginning at the end close to the high altar.

(19) Modern. An angel announces her approaching death to Madonna.

(20) In bad condition. Pharaoh's daughter finds Moses. In the scene below Moses appears seated in the midst of the Egyptian philosophers.

(21) Moses is married to Zipporah. The marriage is celebrated by an old man who wears buskins, and does not appear to have any distinctively sacerdotal vestments. Below, Moses is seen tending the flocks of Jethro.

(22) The crossing of the Red Sea. The Egyptian soldiers are mounted, and armed with shields and spears.

(23) The Congregation are called before the Lord, and quails are sent in answer to the murmurs of the people.

(24) The rock gives forth water for the people. Beneath, the children of Edom refuse to allow the children of Israel to pass through their country.

(25) The battle with the Amalekites at Rephidim. The arms of Moses are supported by Aaron and Hur.

(26) This picture may represent the sending out of a man from each tribe to search the land of Canaan. Below is the stoning of Moses as the result of the evil report. A halo is cast about him, which no stones can break through.

(27) Moses gives the book of the law to a group of classically draped Israelites. Moses dies on Mount Nebo. In the mosaic below, the Levites carry the ark of the Covenant, and the people set out for the promised land.

(28) The crossing of Jordan. The Levites, in white robes, bear the ark. Beneath Joshua sends out the

spies. The walls of Jericho are lined with people to the right.

(29) The captain of the Lord of Hosts, clad as a Roman soldier, appears to Joshua. In the mosaic below, the spies are let down from the wall of Jericho.

(30) The siege of Jericho. Procession of the ark and the trumpeters round the walls. Rahab drops a red line from her window. The walls of the city fall down.

(31) The five kings of the Amorites besiege Gibeon. Joshua discomfits them.

(32) The war against the five kings, who escape into a cave. In the scene below stones fall from heaven upon the Amorites.

(33) Joshua, armed with helmet and spear, commands the sun and the moon to stand still.

(34) The five kings brought from their hiding-place and led before Joshua.

(35) and (36) are modern.

The mosaics on the face of the **arch of triumph** are considered by Dr. Richter and Miss Taylor to belong to the same school of thought as those on the walls of the nave. The general drift is clear, but several of the representations are unusual, and there is diversity of opinion about their meaning. In the centre of the design is the throne of God, with the book closed by seven seals, and a veiled cross. On either side are busts, probably representing SS. Peter and Paul. At the corners are the four living things, symbols of the evangelists. On the under side of the arch is the monogram of Christ with the Alpha and Omega. To the spectator's left of the throne there is the Annunciation to Mary and to Joseph. To the right there is the scene of the Presentation.

Returning to the left side of the arch below the Annunciation there is the Adoration of the Magi. The Child is seated on a throne. Four angels are in attendance. Madonna stands a little apart to the left. The figures to right and left of the throne have been supposed to stand for the two churches of the Jews and

of the Gentiles. The corresponding scene on the right of the arch has been thought to represent the worship yielded by the Egyptians to the Child Christ when the images of their gods had fallen at His coming. Another view is that it rests upon the idea that the Pentateuch was the source of Greek wisdom; thus the Greek philosopher comes to learn of Him who was the fulfilment of the Law of Moses. Beneath, the Magi visit Herod, and on the corresponding position to the left there is the Massacre of the Innocents. In the lower part of the design the two flocks of sheep set out from the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem.

The mosaic of the **semidome** was included among the works carried on under Nicholas IV (1288–94). It has been suggested that the trees, with their magnificent foliage, are part of an ancient design, and that the work of Jacobus Torriti, the mosaicist of 1295, was limited to the restoration of this part, and the execution of the rest of the design. The significance of the picture is partly explained by two inscriptions below the aureole. The first runs, "MARIA VIRGO ASSŪPTA AD ETHEREŪ THALAMŌ IN QUO REX REGŪ STELLATO SEDET SOLIO" (Mary Virgin is risen to the ethereal dwelling-place where the King of kings is seated on a starry throne). The second is, "EXALTATA EST SANCTA DEI GENETRIX SUPER CHOROS ANGELORUM AD CELESTIA REGNA" (The holy Mother of God is exalted above the choirs of angels to the celestial kingdoms).

Beneath the limit of the semidome there are five pictures of the earthly life of Madonna. To the spectator's left the Annunciation and the Nativity of Christ, to the right the Purification and the Adoration of the Magi. In the centre is the death of the Virgin, in which the scene is laid between the towers of Sion and the Mount of Olives. Christ bears the soul of His mother to heaven. The continuation of this scene is found in the semidome above, where the history of the Incarnation is brought to its conclusion in the Coronation of the Virgin, as it was foretold in the Book of Canticles IV. 8: "Veni de Libano, sponsa mea, Veni coronaberis," etc.

On Christ's book is the inscription "VENI · ELECTA MEA ET PONĀM TE THRONUM MEUM" (Come, my elect, and I shall place thee on My throne).

The nine choirs of angels are represented at each side of the aureole, probably because in each hierarchy there were angels of the contemplative and of the active habit. Below the celestial aureole springs the fountain of the water of life which forms a stream flowing at the feet of the saints, full of all manner of living things. At the base of the little hill from which the river springs is a walled city, perhaps a symbol of the New Jerusalem, which came down from God out of heaven. At the sides of the semidome are two trees; their branches are alive with birds and other creatures, as were the branches of the tree used in the parable as a figure of the kingdom of heaven (Matt. XIII. 31, 32). The saints to the spectator's left of the aureole are SS. Peter, Paul, and Francis. Nicholas IV kneels in front of S. Peter. To the right stand SS. John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and Antony of Padua. Cardinal James Colonna kneels in front of S. John the Baptist.

In the afternoon the sun fills the semidome with light, and it is then that its beauty can be best appreciated. There is a curious intermingling of different forms of feeling and expression. The two trees of Paradise have something of the character of early Christian art. The scenes from the life of the Virgin between the windows are depicted in the solemn forms of Byzantine tradition. In the central picture of the Coronation there is a foreshadowing of the new spirit that was soon to find full expression in Giotto. This subtle fusion of imagination and feeling adds a delicate charm to the brilliant colour and to the monumental quality characteristic of most of the Roman mosaics.

Below the windows of the apse there are four marble reliefs, attributed to *Mino da Fiesole* (1431–84). Beginning to the left, they represent the Nativity, the tracing of the foundations of the church, the Assumption of the Virgin, and the Adoration of the Magi. On the vaulting of the roof between the semidome and the

triumphal arch there are frescoes of the four evangelists and the four doctors of the Latin Church.

We now turn to the **monuments and chapels** in the interior.

If we enter the nave from the doorway which looks towards the Lateran we have on the left the tomb of Nicholas IV (1287–92), dating from the time of SixtusV. At the end of the sixteenth century on the right there is a monument to Clement IX (1667–70). Passing along the aisle to the right, the first door is that of the baptistery. In it there is an Assumption of the Virgin by *Bernini*. The sacristy is reached through the baptistery. It contains fragments of sculpture from the old tabernacle attributed to *Mino da Fiesole*. There are reliefs of S. Jerome, S. Bernard, and Madonna. In the Sala Capitolare beyond there are other pieces by Mino, SS. Peter and Paul with the cross, Madonna, an Annunciation, and a figure of Christ. The next chapel in the right aisle is that of the Crocifisso.

The last chapel opening out of the right aisle is the Capella del SS. Sacramento or **Capella Sistina**, built by Domenico Fontana for Cardinal Montalto, who became Sixtus V (1585–90). Immediately below the cornice of the chapel there are a series of frescoes with the history of the Incarnation. Begin at the left of the entrance with the (1) Annunciation; (2) Mary and Joseph travel to the hill country; (3) Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth; (4) The Angel appears to Joseph and tells him of the mystery of the Incarnation; (5) Joseph and Mary enrolled; (6) Nativity; (7) Annunciation to the Shepherds; (8) Magi appear before Herod; (9) Joseph warned to go into Egypt; (10) Flight into Egypt; (11) Massacre of the Innocents. Above the cornice is another series giving the human ancestors of Christ from Abraham through Obed, Ruth, Jesse, and the line of kings to Joseph and Mary. The dome is filled by the court of heaven.

In the centre of the chapel a short flight of steps descends to the first altar which was consecrated in the basilica of Liberius. The front has been decorated

with good marble mosaic. Behind the altar is a sculptured group of the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi by *Arnolfo di Cambio*. To the left of Madonna (restored) is the figure of S. Joseph leaning on his staff, and the heads of the ox and the ass. Beneath the stair *Bernini* has sculptured S. Gaetani with the Child in his arms. Sixtus V (1585–90) insisted that the tabernacle in which the relics of the sacred cradle were originally preserved should be moved as a whole into this chapel where it was placed above the ancient altar. The work was done by his favourite architect *Fontana*, who had already been employed in the placing of the obelisk in the Piazza of S. Peter's. The boards of the sacred cradle are now under the high altar, but a gilt model of the tabernacle which formerly contained them is still in the chapel. The relics of the cradle are said to have been brought from Bethlehem to Rome at the time of the Saracen invasion of Palestine during the Papacy of Theodore I (642–9). The chapel contains the tombs of Pope Pius V and Pope Sixtus V. To the left is that of Pius V, whose remains are preserved beneath the statue. The monument is surrounded by marble reliefs representing the events of his Papacy. Above is the Coronation of the Pope. To the left the Battle of Lepanto is represented, and to the right the miraculous assistance given to the arms of Charles IX of France. To the left of the figure of the Pope the standard of the Cross is given to Mark Antonio Colonna. On the other side a baton is given to Duke Sforza di Santa Fiore, who fought against Protestants. On the wall opposite is the statue of Sixtus V. The reliefs represent his Coronation, the Canonization of S. Diego, the Peace made by Cardinal Aldobrandi between the Emperor and King Sigismund of Poland. Below to the left of the Pope is the figure of Charity, to his right that of Justice. This panel includes a representation of the suppression of brigands in the Campagna. The large statues in the niches are as follows, beginning to the left of the door: In the niche beside Pius V are the two Dominicans, S. Peter Martyr and S. Dominic. In the niches opposite

to the entrance are the founders of the Roman Church, SS. Peter and Paul. In the niche beside Sixtus V are the Franciscans, S. Francis, and S. Anthony of Padua.

The sacristy of the chapel is entered on the right. On the wall opposite to the entrance is a fresco of the Nativity by *Guido Reni*. On the roof are representations of (1) the vision in which direction was given for the building of the church ; (2) the Pope marks out the foundations in the snow ; (3) the building of the Church ; (4) The finding of the body of S. Agnes.

At the end of the right aisle is the tomb of Cardinal Consalvo Rodrigo, who died in 1299. This monument by *Giovanni Cosmas* is one of the few Gothic tombs in Rome. It represents the work of the school of Roman marble masons in its later phase. In the mosaic above Madonna and Child appear with SS. Matthias and Jerome.

In the left aisle, opposite to the chapel of Sixtus V, is the **Capella Paolina** or Borghese, built by Paul V early in the seventeenth century from the designs of Flaminio Ponzio.

The papal monuments in this chapel are those of Clement VIII and Paul V. The large statues are as follows : To the right of the monument of Clement VIII S. Bernardino, to the left Aaron. To the right of the high altar S. Joseph, to the left S. John the Evangelist. To the right of the monument of Paul V, David, to the left Dionysius the Æreopagite. In the dome is the Assumption of the Virgin, by *Cigoli*.

The large frescoes above the cornice represent the following : Over the altar and on the underside of the arch, to the right Irenæus and Cyprian, in the centre S. Luke, to the left Theophilus and Ignatius. The lunette within the arch contains Madonna, S. John the Evangelist, and S. Gregory Thaumaturgus. Over the statue of Clement VIII there are on the underside of the arch, to the right the Empress Pulcheria, Ideltruda, Queen of England, and Cunigunda, Queen of Poland. In the centre there is the Descent of the Holy Spirit, and to the left S. Cyril of Alexandria. On the lunette within

the arch there are pictures of S. John Damascene and S. Ildefonso by *Guido Reni.*

Over the statue of Paul V on the underside of the arch, to the right, S. Dominic, in the centre God the Father in judgment, and to the left S. Francis, by *Guido Reni.* On the lunette to the right Heraclius, who triumphed over the King of Persia (622–28), and to the left Narses, the general of Justinian who overthrew barbarian rule in Italy (553). On the underside of the arch over the entrance there is, to the right, the Death of Constantine Copronymus (*d.* 775), son of Leo. In the centre the Death of Julian the Apostate (*d.* 363), and to the left the Death of Leo III the Isaurian (*d.* 741). The lunette is filled by a large window.

Turning to the sculptures of contemporary events. On the right of the entrance is the statue of Clement VIII. Above his head is a representation of his coronation. To the right the Pope canonizes the Dominican saints Giacinto and Raimondo, and to the left peace is made between Philip II of Spain and Henry IV of France. Below and to the right of the Pope there is a relief illustrating the expedition into Hungary against the Turks, and the taking of Strigonio. To the left the capture of Ferrara.

On the left of the chapel is the statue of Paul V. Above his head is the coronation of the Pope. To the right he receives the ambassadors from Japan, the Congo, and Persia. To the left is the Consecration of altars in the names of SS. Carlo Borromeo and Francesca de Buxis, a Roman widow. Below to the right of the statue there is represented the fortification of Ferrara, and to the left the Crusade against the Turks in aid of Rudolf II.

The great treasure of this chapel is the picture of Madonna over the altar by S. Luke. It is said to be the painting which was carried in procession by Pope Gregory in the year 590, when the plague was raging in Rome.

The chapel in the left aisle, next to the Pauline, is the **Sforza chapel**, designed for Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza by *Michael Angelo*, and finished by *Giacomo della*

Porta. It is now used as the winter choir. The Cesi chapel next to it contains the monuments of two Cardinals of the family.

S. Pudenziana

is reached from Sta. M. Maggiore by going to the lower end of the Piazza Esquilino and turning to the left into the Via Urbana.

This church is supposed to occupy the site of the house of Pudens. S. Peter is said to have lived in it, and it appears to have been the dwelling of the early bishops of Rome. It was also a place of meeting for the primitive church. Timothy, Novatus, Pudenziana, and Prasseda, children of Pudens according to tradition, caused Pope Pius I (142–57) to dedicate a baptismal font which is supposed to have been on the site of the present Capella Gaetani in the left aisle. Pope Pius is also said to have established a church in the baths of Novatus adjoining the house of Pudens.

The ancient name of the foundation was "titulus Pudentis ecclesia pudentiana." The church was rebuilt by two priests during the Pontificate of Siricius (384–97), and the original mosaic in the semidome is assigned to this time. There have been several restorations, and the building has lost its ancient character. The entrance door is flanked by fine pillars, and on the lintel is the Lamb with the Cross attended by SS. Pudenziana and Prassede. On the upper part of the façade there is modern fresco decoration.

In the left aisle is an ancient well in which it is said there are the bones of three thousand martyrs. In the Gaetani chapel which opens out of this aisle is an elaborate marble relief of the Adoration of the Magi. At the end of the left aisle under the altar, part of the original altar used by S. Peter at the meetings of Christian converts may be seen. The most important monument in the church is the **mosaic** in the semidome. Di Rossi satisfied himself that it was a work of the last ten years of the fourth century, but it has suffered so much that it is impossible for any one except a skilled archæologist

to discriminate between the ancient picture and modern restorations. A semicircular loggia divides the design into two parts. Beyond the loggia rises the mystical mountain with a gemmed cross resting on it, and round about are the towers and palaces of the celestial Jerusalem. The four winged symbols of the Evangelists appear in the clouds. The nude figure of the Angel of S. Matthew is noteworthy as differing from the practice of later centuries. Within the loggia is the church on earth. Christ is seated on a magnificent throne in the midst of the apostles. On the book in His hand is a legend, which may be rendered "Lord, Preserver of the Church of Pudens." SS. Peter and Paul are nearest to the throne, while SS. Pudenzia and Prassede stand behind with crowns to place on their heads. Restoration has not only destroyed the character of the figures of Christ and the apostles, it has cut off part of the design at the sides and at the bottom, so that it is difficult to realize the proportions of the original work, as well as its details. So far as it is possible to recognize the disposition of the picture there is an air of classical breadth and freedom, in marked contrast to the designs of the ninth century.

Beneath the church there are remains of ancient buildings in brickwork. The mosaic pavement is found at two different levels. The one is supposed to belong to Pagan and the other to Christian times. An ancient fresco represents S. Peter between SS. Pudenziana and Prassede. There is also a baptismal font attributed to the time of S. Peter.

Sta. Prassede

is within two or three minutes' walk of Sta. Maria Maggiore, across the Piazza of that name.

The mosaics of S. Prassede form the most complete monument of ninth-century art in Rome. There are three separate designs:

(*a*) On the semidome and the face of the arch above it.

(*b*) On the triumphal arch separating the choir from the nave.

(*c*) On the walls of the chapel of S. Zeno.

The work throughout is attributed to the Papacy of Paschal I (817–24).

These mosaics are in marked contrast to those of S. Pudenziana. It is possible, in spite of restoration, still to feel something of the marvellous power of the classical spirit in the latter. In Sta. Prassede, on the contrary, mediævalism is fully developed. There is no longer any search after illumination or beauty as such ; art becomes the servant of edification. The ideal of Gregory the Great does not lead to a feeling for style. Lucidity of thought and breadth of view had little place in a society haunted by a sense of the gravity of its own sinfulness. Serenity and suavity do not flourish in a state where the alternative to the terrror of hell is the torment of purgatory.

(*a*) The semidome. The central figure is that of Christ. The right arm is raised and on the palm of the outstretched hand is a cross. A fixed stare takes the place of intensity of expression, as we see it at S. Marco, which belongs to the same time. To the spectator's left of the Christ stands S. Paul, who presents Sta. Prassede ; beyond this group Pope Paschal, in bright yellow robes, and with a square nimbus, carries a model of the church. To the spectator's right S. Peter presents S. Pudenziana, and beyond them stands S. Zeno, supposed to be a soldier who suffered under Diocletian. Here he appears as tonsured and clothed in ecclesiastical vestments.

At the feet of Christ is the word " Jordanes," the river of the land of Judah, which is also symbolized by the two palm trees at the sides of the semidome. On the branches of the tree over the head of S. Paul is the phœnix, nimbed and with rays of light spreading from the aureole. It is an emblem of the immortal soul. Along the lower part of the semidome sheep proceed from the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem to meet in the presence of the Lamb, who stands on the Mount in the centre. From this mountain spring the four rivers of Paradise. The design of the semidome is completed

by the vision on the face of the arch. In the centre the Lamb rests on the throne, with the sealed scroll below. At the sides are the seven candlesticks, with two angels and the four living things, symbols of the evangelists. Beneath are the elders arranged in groups of twelve at each side. They are robed in white, and bear their crowns. This part of the picture is most primitive.

(*b*) The subject of another series of mosaics on the triumphal arch, is the city of God. It is walled, and has two gates guarded by angels. Christ stands over against the centre of the city, attended by two angels. At the feet of the latter are SS. Pudenziana and Prassede. A figure to the left is supposed to represent Pudens, and to the right are his sons Novatus and Timothy. Within the walls to the left a nimbed figure bears a scroll inscribed "LEGE"; a corresponding figure to the right is winged and carries a rod and book. Probably the two are symbols of the Law and the Gospel.

Outside the walls there is a flowery meadow in which groups of people stand. Some have white robes and crowns. They are encouraged by angels to pass through the gate of the city. Beneath there are on each side groups with palms and crowns looking up to the holy city.

(*c*) A third set of mosaics decorate the portal and the chapel of S. Zeno. The series of busts ranged about the arch of entrance form a beautiful design. The figures are those of Christ, the apostles, Madonna, and probably Pudens with his family. The chapel itself is extremely small. To the right is the cell of the column, traditionally the one to which Christ was bound. The entire surface of the upper part of the walls of the chapel is covered with mosaic. On the vaulted roof is the bust of Christ, who is bearded. The surrounding aureole is supported by four angels, robed in white. Over the altar in a small niche is a figure of Madonna and Child, with SS. Prassede and Pudenziana in adoration. Above Madonna and S. John the Baptist. On the wall to the spectator's right are figures of SS.

John, Andrew, and James, and in the archway below Christ is placed between SS. Valentino and Paschal. On the wall to the spectator's left there are SS. Agnes, Pudenziana, and Prassede. In the archway below the Lamb is figured on the mountain, while stags drink from the rivers which flow from it. Beneath this there are busts of SS. Theodora (mother of Pope Paschal), Prassede, Madonna, and Pudenziana. On the under side of the arch Christ is seen going down into Hades. On the wall of entrance there is the throne with the cross, with SS. Peter and Paul at the sides.

The mosaics, particularly those described under (*a*) and (*b*), are barbarous in method and effect. Such expression as the figures have is the result of a system of conventional lines and high lights without relation to nature. The draperies are disposed so as to hide rather than to disclose the grace of the human form. The groups of elders are merely rude hieroglyphs. The artist has also lost the sense of how to place the figures. They are overcrowded, so that the spacious effect (such as we see in the mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano) is entirely lost. With all these defects there is, however, the saving sense of colour, which never seems to have deserted the mediæval mosaicist.

In a small chapel between the porch of the side entrance and the chapel of S. Zeno is a good Renaissance tomb of the Cardinal Alanus, who died in 1474. On the pillar opposite to this chapel there is an inscription telling how Pope Paschal brought the bones of 2,300 saints from the catacombs to this church.

In the chapel of the Crucifix to the right of the choir is the tomb of Cardinal Anchera. The sculpture is assigned to a marble mason of the Cosmas family. It may be compared with the tomb of Cardinal Acquasparta in S. M. Ara Cœli. In the left aisle, the large chapel nearest to the west end of the church is connected with the memory of S. Charles Borromeo (1538–84), who was titular Cardinal of the church. It contains the chair of the saint and the table from which he gave food to the poor. At the end of the left aisle is the stone

on which S. Prassede is said to have slept. Near the west end of the nave there is a well in which S. Prassede preserved the bones of the martyrs.

The Confession is reached by a flight of steps in front of the high altar. To the left are two sarcophagi filled with bones of martyrs, and to the right are sarcophagi containing the relics of SS. Pudenziana and Prassede. The altar has over it some faint frescoes: Madonna and Child, with SS. Pudenziana and Prassede. The altar front is decorated with marble mosaic.

S. Martino ai Monti

(This church is on the tram-line which connects the Piazza Venezia with S. John Lateran. It is also near to Sta. Prassede and S. Maria Maggiore.)

The substructure of the building is, according to tradition, a church founded by Pope Sylvester (314–36). Pope Symmachus (498–514) is supposed to have raised a church above the one founded by Sylvester, and in the seventeenth century there were extensive restorations.

On the left wall of the church there is a picture representing the Council of 325 held by Pope Sylvester for the purpose of recognizing the acts of the Council of Nicæa; Constantine and the Empress Helena sit to the right and left of the Pope. It is now believed that no such Council was held in Rome, although it is considered likely that Sylvester, by some special act, did recognize the conclusions of the Fathers at Nicæa.

The choir is raised above the level of the nave, and a fine flight of steps leads down into a large and elaborate Confession. Near the entrance there is a list of the martyrs who are buried here. In the font there is preserved one of the stones which it is said were fastened to the heads and feet of martrys, to increase their sufferings.

A further flight of steps leads down to the level of the church of S. Sylvester. There are remains of an ancient episcopal seat, of a ciborium, and of a perforated slab used for a window. There are also various fragments of frescoes in a rude native manner.

S. Pietro in Vincoli

(This church stands just behind the "Instituto tecnico" in the Via Cavour. Pass under a picturesque archway into the Piazza S. Pietro in Vincoli.)

The history of the church is connected with that of Pope Alexander, who, being in prison, promised to heal the daughter of a certain judge Quirinus. The girl was brought to the Pope, and in her eagerness to be cured began to kiss his chains. He, however, bade her rather kiss those of S. Peter, and when they were found the girl was healed, and the Pope was set free. He then caused a church to be built in honour of S. Peter, and therein he put the chains. It was further said that when Eudoxia, wife of Valens, went to Jerusalem, a Jew gave her the two chains with which S. Peter had been bound. The Empress showed them to the people, and when the chains from Jerusalem touched the one from Rome they were joined together.

The building was restored by Sixtus III (432–40) and the Empress Eudoxia (the younger), wife of Valentinian III. The general form given to it at that time has been preserved, so that in spite of sundry restorations the effect of the spacious nave divided from the aisles by rows of fluted marble columns is still striking.

Sixtus IV (1471–84) and his nephew Julius II (1503–13) both took their titles as Cardinals from this church. The most important monument in it is the **tomb of Julius II** at the end of the right aisle. In 1505 *Michael Angelo* began to serve Pope Julius, and one of his first commissions was for this tomb; but change of purpose, and later on change of masters, delayed its execution, and finally led to a change of design which was carried out by other artists. In 1508 the Pope caused Michael Angelo to begin the painting of the Sistine roof. This was finished in 1512, and when Julius died in 1513 his successor Leo X employed Michael Angelo on his own schemes, and so far as the sculptor was concerned these years were nearly fruitless. During the Papacy of Clement VII Michael Angelo made the tombs of the

Medici princes in Florence, and in the early years of Paul III he painted the "Last Judgment" in the Sistine chapel. It thus happened that no progress was made with the tomb of Pope Julius, and in 1542 a new contract was agreed to by which Raffaello da Montelupo and others were to finish the monument. It was completed in 1545. There are in the Louvre two statues, known as the "Slaves," wrought by Michael Angelo. They were set aside as being on too large a scale for the form which the tomb ultimately assumed. The upper part of the monument has in the centre Madonna and Child, with a very poor recumbent figure of the Pope beneath. To the left is a Sibyl, and to the right the prophet Elijah. In the lower part the figure to the left is that of the Contemplative life; the Active life holding a crown and a torch turned downwards is to the right. These figures have been assigned in some part to Michael Angelo. The Moses which forms the centre-piece of the whole is a genuine work of the master. It attracts the interest of all, not only on account of its qualities as a work of art, but as a memorial of the years of misery and disappointment which Michael Angelo spent so fruitlessly in connexion with the work. Passing by certain peculiarities, such as the projecting lower jaw, the prominence of physical detail, and the heavy drapery, the essential element is the strong man, the prophet and liberator who has received the law from God. Gesture is used rather than expression to indicate repressed force and restrained action. The attitude, halting between quiescence and movement, as well as the treatment of detail, shows how completely Michael Angelo transformed both classical and mediæval tradition by the force of his genius.

The figure of "Moses" vibrates in protest against the stiffneckedness of the people who so often rebelled against his guidance. The effort of Moses to weld the desert tribes of the Israelites into a nation finds an obvious parallel in the struggle of Julius against the foreign invaders of Italy, and in his passionate desire to rouse national feeling.

The sacristy is entered by a door close to the papal monument. In it there is an altar with fine decoration in marble mosaic.

Returning to the church, there is at the entrance of the choir to the right a monument to Giulio Clovio (1498–1578), a famous painter of miniatures, born at Grizana in Croatia. He was a pupil of Giulio Romano. The chains of S. Peter are preserved under the altar, and in the Confession there is an ancient Christian sarcophagus containing the bones of the seven Maccabees. They were the children of Salomonie and Eleazar, and were martyred under Antiochus for refusing to eat swines' flesh (see 2 Maccabees VII.). The subjects on the sarcophagus include the resurrection of Lazarus, the multiplication of bread, the woman at the well of Samaria, the denial of Peter, and the giving of the keys to Peter.

In the left aisle there is a mosaic of S. Sebastian which commemorates the plague of 680. The pestilence broke out in May, and lasted with great severity till September. It was stayed in consequence of a revelation made by an angel that the relics of S. Sebastian should be duly honoured. Pope Agathon caused the bones of the saints to be collected in the cemetery of S. Calixtus, and they were enclosed in an altar in S. Pietro in Vincoli. In the haste of the Romans to avert the plague, it is supposed that they took a mosaic already in existence and set it up over the altar; hence the youthful soldier Sebastian is represented by an elderly and bearded man. Near to the S. Sebastian is a monument to Cardinal Aldobrandini, nephew of Clement VIII (1592–1605) in the repulsive style of the time. The skeleton, with wings, scythe, and hour-glass may be compared with similar accessories on the tombs of Urban VIII and Alexander VII at S. Peter's.

In the same aisle near the door is a relief in gilded marble, showing the deliverance of S. Peter. The donor, Cardinal Nicolo di Cusa, kneels at the side. Nicolo di Cusa (1401–64), who is buried beneath this sculpture, was the son of a fisherman at Cues, on the Moselle. He

was educated by the help of a patron, and became one of the most remarkable men of his time. He was employed by Nicholas V and Pius II, and, like the latter, he supported the Conciliar power as against that of the Pope at Basel, and afterwards became a strong supporter of the Papacy. As a philosopher he is said to have anticipated the speculations of Copernicus, while the tendency of his theology led to his being charged with Pantheism.

The tomb of the brothers Pietro (1443–96) and Antonio (1429–98) Pollajuolo, Florentine sculptors, is on the entrance wall, and above it is a fresco commemorative of the attack of pestilence mentioned above. Antonio Pollajuolo desired to be buried in the church, and it was agreed that one of the brothers should paint a picture. In the upper part Pope Agathon is seated in an open loggia, surrounded by his court. On the steps kneels the recipient of the revelation. Below to the spectator's right the good and bad angels pass through the city, and the latter strikes the houses doomed by the former. To the left is seen the procession bearing the relics of S. Sebastian.

S. Agata in Suburra or dei Goti

(This small church stands behind the Bank of Italy, in the Via Nazionale.) It is interesting mainly for the inscription relating to Ricimer and John Lascaris. Count Ricimer was one of the great barbarians who in the fifth century served to prolong the death agony of the imperial system in Rome. His father was a Suevic chieftain, his mother was the granddaughter of the Visigothic King Walia. He gained his position in the Empire by a victory over the Vandals in 456, and from that time his nominees, the Emperors Majorian, Severus II, Anthemius, and Olybrius, followed each other in rapid succession, until, shortly before the suppression of the Empire in the West, Ricimer himself died, leaving behind him the reputation of having identified his own interest with that of Rome. Ricimer is supposed to have placed a mosaic in the church.

It was destroyed in 1592. According to an illustration in Ciampini, Christ was seated on the globe of the world with an open book of the Gospel. Six apostles stand at each side. S. Paul to the right of Christ, and S. Peter with the key to the left. During the period of Gothic supremacy the church was used by the Arians, and when the Catholic rite was re-established by Gregory the Great, a black dog or cat was seen to fly from the building at the time of consecration, and for some nights the neighbourhood was disturbed by its howlings.

The inscription relating to John Lascaris (1445–1535) was written by himself. It records the joy and sorrow of a stranger buried in a foreign land. This scholar was employed to collect MSS. for Lorenzo the Magnificent. He taught Greek in Paris and in Venice, and for a short time in Rome, under Leo X. He was concerned in the making of the library of Francis I at Fontainebleau, and having been recalled to Rome by Paul III, he died there in 1535. He was the last of the Byzantine scholars who brought the traditions of Greek learning into Italy during the fifteenth century.

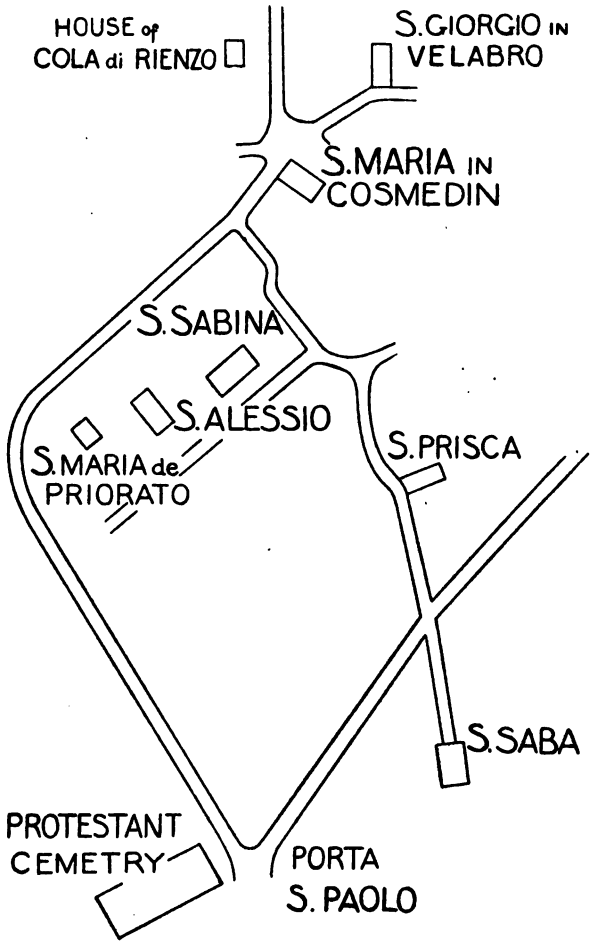
CHURCHES ON THE AVENTINE AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

S. Maria in Cosmedin

THE church of S. Maria in Cosmedin has an eighteenth-century façade indistinguishable from the common type of Roman church, but behind this there is a beautiful basilican church, singularly free from extravagant decoration, and unusually complete in its ceremonial arrangements. It stands on the site of a pagan building, the columns of which still form part of the fabric. According to tradition it was in a house hard by that S. Augustine taught when he was in Rome. This part of the city was also associated with the Greek colony, hence the church at one time bore the name of S. Maria in Schola Græca. Its present name is supposed to be derived from a Greek word signifying "to adorn or decorate." In the time of Adrian I (771–95) the church was rebuilt, and again in the time of Calixtus II (1119–24) there was a thorough restoration.

The church is entered through a portico, at one end of which is the great stone mask known as the Bocca della Verita, from the mediæval legend that any one taking a false oath while his hand was in its mouth would be grasped by the monster. The marble jambs of the central doorway are noteworthy. On the underside of the lintel a number of symbolical figures are carved in Romanesque style.

There are three apses at the east end of the church. In the central one behind the altar is a fine episcopal chair. In the semidome above, Madonna and Child



CHURCHES ON THE AVENTINE AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

are attended by SS. Augustine, Dionysius, Nicolas, and Felix. Beneath are pictures of the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation. The apse to the spectator's left has in the semidome a picture of Madonna and Child, and below, the Nativity and Death of the Virgin. In the apse to the right there is the Lamb with the Cross, and beneath the preaching and martyrdom of S. John the Baptist. The altar rests on an ancient column.

The tabernacle over the altar is of Gothic design, ornamented with marble mosaic. It is attributed to one of the Cosmas family, and probably dates from the thirteenth century. The east end of the church is separated from the rest by a light screen, which has on some of the panels crosses with peacocks, roses, and other decoration in the style of similar panels at S. Sabina. In the nave there are two fine ambones; the one to the spectator's right, from which the gospel is read, has beside it a paschal candlestick ornamented with marble mosaic. In the western wall of the church the forms of the ancient windows, filled with marble slabs pierced to admit light, have been preserved. The diversity of the capitals, many of them very beautiful, and the marble floor, are noteworthy.

There is a peculiar fascination in the mingling of the remains of the ancient classical building with the twelfth-century architecture, almost ascetic in the simplicity of its forms. Fortunately, also, recent restorations have removed all that could interfere with the charms of the interior. The delicate marble screens, the ciborium, and the ambones, do not all belong to the same period, nor do they express the same artistic impulse, and yet some subtle influence, perhaps that of the Schola Græca, seems to have lingered in the place, and merged everything into a harmonious whole.

In the **sacristy** there is a fragment of mosaic decoration from the chapel of the Virgin, in the old church of S. Peter, dating from the time of John VII (705–7). The chapel was destroyed in 1606, and this remnant passed into the hands of one of the clergy of S. Maria

in Cosmedin, who bestowed it on the church. It represents part of the scene of the Adoration of the Magi. Madonna is seated on a chair of state. She has a golden nimbus, and a blue veil and robe. An angel with a rod looks on, and rays from above descend on the group. The infant bends forward with animation to receive the offering of the king. The colouring is most lovely, and it will be found interesting to compare this fragment with the mosaics of the time of Paschal I (817–24) at S. Cecilia, S. Prassede, and S. Maria Domnica. John VII was of Greek origin, and in his age Byzantine influence was strong in Rome. In the time of Paschal I Italy had cut herself adrift from Eastern influence. When we compare this little piece of work with that of the time of Paschal we can estimate how much Italy lost from an artistic point of view by separation from Constantinople.

S. Giorgio in Velabro

(This church is within a few minutes' walk of S. M. in Cosmedin, and close to the arch of Janus). Veneration for S. George is supposed to have been quickened by the Byzantine influence, which was powerful in Rome during the seventh century. In the time of Leo II (682–4) there is an undoubted record of the church. The head of S. George now under the altar was given to the church by Pope Zacharias (741–52). The banner of the saint is also to be seen on his festa, 23 April. There is a picturesque portico, with an inscription dating from the thirteenth century. The entrance-door has some good sculpture around it.

It was on the door of this church that Cola di Rienzo fixed one of those proclamations by which he tried to prepare the Romans for a better rule. In this case it ran, "In a short time the Romans will return to their good ancient government." In the interior the diversity of the columns which separate the nave from the aisles is more marked than usual, and there is a general air of desolation, combined with a dignified simplicity. The painting in the semidome, said to have been

originally by *Giotto*, has been repainted out of all recognition. There is, however, a fine ciborium of the twelfth or thirteenth century, and on one of the walls there is an interesting panel, part of a screen such as still exists in S. Maria in Cosmedin and at S. Clemente.

S. Sabina

On the part of the Aventine where this church stands there were temples of Diana and Juno Regina. After the destruction wrought by the Goths in A.D. 410 a church was built by a certain Peter, a man of Illyrian birth, and, according to tradition, it was consecrated in 432. In the Middle Ages the Aventine became a stronghold of the Savelli. Under Honorius III, a Savelli Pope, the Dominicans were settled in the monastery attached to the church, and Honorius IV, another Savelli Pope, died here.

The church lost a good deal of its ancient character in the restoration of Sixtus V (1585–90), but there is still a peculiar charm in the spacious nave with its fluted columns, and the marble decorations of the nave arches. The church is entered through a vestibule, in which some interesting sculpture slabs are preserved, and also a few inscriptions. A window in the vestibule looks into a peaceful garden where there is a carefully tended orange tree planted by S. Dominic. The central door is flanked by two fine columns with twisted flutings, and the marble jambs and lintel are also noteworthy.

The most important monument in the church is **the carved doors** which lead from the vestibule into the church. There has been much controversy about the date, and also about the subjects represented. The weight of authority as to date assigns the work to some period between the building of the church early in the fifth century and the first half of the sixth century. It is evident, however, that there has been a good deal of restoration. Some of the panels have probably been lost, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that their order has been altered. With regard to the subject there is a more or less general

agreement that the intention was to show how the realization of the kingdom of God upon earth, as set forth in the New Testament, is foreshadowed in the Old. If we are to assume the above-mentioned date for these panels, they are perhaps the most interesting example of the transition from the classical to the mediæval point of view, and as wood-carvings they are unique.

The figures are generally short in stature. The heads are large, and the suggestion is that of persons of middle age. The expression tends to be severe, if not morose, and the drapery is heavy and ungraceful. There is no sign of the youthful and unbearded Christ, nor is there much trace of the classical quality which animates most of the sculpture on the sarcophagi. On the other hand, many of the scenes are similar to those on the tombs. The sacrament of baptism is emphasized in the "Crossing of the Red Sea," and in the "Striking of the Rock." The Eucharist is foreshadowed in the miracles of manna and of the quails, in the mission of Habbakuk, in the miracle of Cana, and in the multiplication of the loaves. There are, however, none of the highly symbolical vintage scenes, such as we see on the sarcophagi, the only suggestion of the kind being in the vine scrolls which border the various carvings. These scrolls are modern, but are said to be faithful copies of the ancient work. The panel (i) is generally held to be a representation of the Crucifixion. This subject does not appear in the catacombs, nor upon the sarcophagi up to the sixth century. The number of Passion scenes is also unusual in early work. On the sarcophagi the "Denial of S. Peter," or "Pilate Washing his Hands," stand for the whole series. The idea of resurrection is constantly present, alike in the catacombs, on the sarcophagi, and on these doors. But, as in the case of the Passion, the representations on the doors are more direct and historical, those on the tombs and in the catacombs being allusive and symbolical.

The following list (Arabic numerals are used for Old Testament subjects, and Roman for the New Testament) will show that as the work has come down to us the

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New Testament subjects in chronological order:

(xiv) Annunciation of the birth of John Baptist; (iii) Adoration of Magi; (v) Miracles of Christ; (iv) Transfiguration; (vii) Agony in the garden; (xi) Denial of S. Peter; (xviii) Christ before Caiaphas; (xvii) Pilate washes his hands; (i) Crucifixion; (ii) The angel appears to the Marys at the tomb; (x) Christ appears to the women; (ix) Christ appears to the disciples; (viii) Ascension and Glory of Christ.

The Crucifixion (**i** on the plan xx). Christ and the two thieves appear to be crucified on the wall of a building. Their feet touch the ground, they have only waist clothes, and Christ has no nimbus. Other early examples of crucifixions in Rome, such as those in S. Maria Antica, in the lower church of S. Clemente, and in the house of SS. John and Paul, differ in almost every respect from this treatment. The presence of the thieves in early instances is unusual, while Christ is generally nimbed and is frequently clothed in a sleeveless robe. The feet are in most cases nailed to the cross, while Mary and S. John stand at the foot.

The Marys at the Tomb (**ii** on the plan). The architectural background is the same as that in the Crucifixion in general character. The angel is winged, and is of immense size in proportion to the women. The figures are heavy and crude in design.

Adoration of the Magi (**iii** on plan). Madonna with the Child is seated on a high throne. The Kings have the Phrygian caps and trousers.

The transfiguration (**iv** on plan). This can only be regarded as an indication of the subject. Christ is separated from Moses and Elias by palm trees. The figures are nimbed.

Miracles of Christ (**v** on plan). At the top Christ gives sight to the man born blind (John VIII. 59, and IX. 1–12). Note the absence of the nimbus. In the middle is the feeding of the multitude with the seven loaves and three fishes. The lowest scene represents the miracle at Cana. There are seven water-pots instead of the six of the narrative.

The Miracles of Moses (**vi** on plan). The upper scene is a description of Exodus xv. 25, where God showed to Moses a tree that caused the bitter waters of Marah to become sweet. The two middle panels represent the passage in Exodus xvi. 12–15, in which quails and manna are provided, and the promise is given "At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread." The fourth scene is the striking of the rock (Exodus xvii. 6). In the first and last panels the presence of God is indicated by a hand in the clouds.

The Agony in the Garden (**vii** on plan). There has been much controversy about the subject of this panel. It differs in style from many of the others, and it is probably restored. The upper part of the carving is supposed to represent Luke xxii. 43, in which an angel comes down from heaven to strengthen Christ in His agony. No explanation has been given of the substitution of three angels for one. In the lower part of the scene three disciples gaze at the vision above, while one is asleep. S. Luke makes no mention of the number who were with Christ, but both S. Matthew and S. Mark specify Peter, James, and John. Some authorities have supposed the subject to be the Ascension of Christ, but the difficulties seem greater than in attributing it to the Agony in the garden. This latter subject is unusual in early art.

The Ascension and Glory of Christ (**viii** on plan). This is probably a restoration. In the upper part Christ stands in an aureole. Within its field are the Alpha and Omega, and on the scroll in the hand of Christ there are the five Greek letters forming the initials of the words which are translated, "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour." Around the aureole are the figures of the four living things (Rev. iv. 7), symbols of the evangelists. This design of Christ in the aureole surrounded by the four symbols was one of the commonest sculptures over the western doorway in Romanesque churches up to the twelfth century. The figure of Christ is perhaps the nearest approach in the whole series to the youthful type of the sarcophagi. In the lower part of the panel,

beneath the sun, moon, and stars, stands the figure of an orante, a type of the church, with the apostles SS. Peter and Paul at her side.

Christ appearing to the Disciples (ix on plan). This is interpreted as the scene described in S. John xx. 19: "And when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you." Christ appears to have a Cruciform nimbus. The figures of the disciples are exceptionally rude.

Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene and the other Mary (x on plan). Christ is described in S. Matthew xxviii. 9 as meeting the two women and bidding them all hail. The three figures are separated by trees.

The Denial of Peter (xi on plan). The moment chosen is when Christ turns and looks on Peter (S. Luke xxii. 61). This subject occurs frequently on the sarcophagi.

The Mission of Habbakuk (12 on plan). Supposed to be a restoration. It is an illustration of verse 36 of "Bel and the Dragon," where it is told how the prophet Habbakuk took food to Daniel in the lions' den.

The Calling of Moses (13). At the bottom of the panel Moses tends his flocks. In the middle is the apparition of the burning bush. At the top God commands Moses and Aaron to bring the Israelites out of Egypt.

Annunciation of the birth of John the Baptist (xiv). Zachariah stands at the door of the temple. Below, two rows of people look up in astonishment. The architecture of the temple is elaborate.

The Crossing of the Red Sea (15). Probably a restoration. At the bottom of the picture is the miracle of the rods turned into serpents. In the middle Pharaoh is destroyed in the sea. At the top an angel guides the Israelites. On the right is the pillar of fire.

Ascension of Elijah (16 on plan). Probably a restoration. Elijah is carried up in a chariot as described in 2 Kings ii. 11. He is also borne up by an angel in accordance with tradition. The story of the recovery of the axe appears in the lower right-hand corner.

Pilate washes his hands (**xvii** on plan). Pilate is seated to the left. Christ in this panel appears as unbearded. His figure is short and very heavily draped. This, one of the most common Passion scenes on the sarcophagi, was regarded in the light of a declaration by the Roman tribunal that the guilt of Christ's death lay with the Jews.

Christ before Caiaphas (**xviii** on plan). Caiaphas is seated on a raised chair. Christ is in the act of answering the high priest (S. Matthew xxvi. 64). Behind are soldiers of a barbarous type.

Within the church there are a number of fine panels originally part of the **choir screen.** Subsequently they were used for paving the church, but fortunately the carved surface was placed downwards, so that the sculpture has been preserved. The stones are now fixed to the wall of the left aisle.

At the end of the right aisle, near the entrance, is the stone which covers the remains of Alexander, Theodulus, Sabina, and Seraphia. On it S. Dominic was wont to prostrate himself in prayer. Farther on in the right aisle is the chapel of S. Hyacinth, and beyond is the tomb of Cardinal Monti del Poggio, with the four cardinal virtues sculptured on it. At the end of the right aisle is a picture by *Sassoferrato.*

In the centre of the nave, on a low pillar, is a black stone, probably used as a standard of weight among the Romans. According to vulgar tradition, was used by S. Dominic to throw at the devil.

As the visitor turns to leave the church he will see on the wall of entrance an ancient design in mosaic. At the ends are figures of the church of the Circumcision (to the left), and the church of the Gentiles (to the right), with a long inscription between.

Close to Sta. Sabina is the church of

S. Alessio

According to tradition the church stands on the site of the palace of a wealthy Roman matron, Aglæ. As an expiation for a worldly life she sent her steward Boniface

to the East that he might give alms to Christians and bring back relics of martyrs, who had perished in the Diocletian persecution. He was seized, tortured, and finally beheaded. His body now rests under the high altar, along with that of S. Alexis. This latter saint was the son of a senator Euphemianus, who lived early in the fifth century. Alexis, the son of many prayers, was married to a noble lady, but, desiring to serve God, he left Rome, went to the East, and lived on alms for seventeen years. When he came back to the city he appeared as a pilgrim before his father, and was allowed to live in the house as a beggar. On a certain Sunday a voice was heard in the church saying, "Seek ye the servant of God, for he prayeth for all Rome," and further bidding the people to go to the house of Euphemianus. There they found the dead body of Alexis, and with much ceremony the Pope and the Emperor caused it to be taken to the Church of S. Boniface. In the left aisle of the church, the stairway under which S. Alexis lived is preserved, and in the right aisle there is an ancient well. In the choir is an episcopal chair, and two pillars decorated with marble mosaic by *Jacobus* of the family of *Cosmas*, probably a brother of *Giovanni*, who sculptured the tombs in S. M. Maggiore, S. M. sopra Minerva, and S. Balbina. The monastery attached to the church was restored by Pope Benedict VII (974–83), and it became one of the most famous in Rome.

In the cloister there is an inscription recording the death of Crescentius, son of John and Theodora, who is supposed to have instigated the insurrection against the German party in Rome in the year 974. Pope Benedict VI was strangled in the castle of S. Angelo, and an antipope was set up. Crescentius came to end his days in the monastery of S. Boniface, and dedicated himself to a holy life. It is uncertain in what way he was related to the Crescentii, who led the opposition to the Emperors at the end of the tenth century.

Close by are two other churches—

S. Maria del Priorato

This church is so named from its connexion with a priory of the Knights Hospitallers. It is surrounded by gardens, from which there is an exceedingly fine view over the city.

Within the church the first tomb to the right is an ancient sarcophagus, now the burial-place of Bishop Spinelli. Next to this there is a statue of Piranesi (*d.* 1778), the engraver of the ancient monuments of Rome. The third memorial resembles some of the screens in S. Sabina in its combination of small crosses with decorative design. There is also a cross surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists, and in the centre the Hand appears in blessing, with the sun and moon at the sides. Opposite there is a charming piece of sculpture in the form of a small façade with the Agnus Dei, and birds in the enjoyment of the fruits of Paradise. Behind the altar there is a fine slab over a tomb. The tomb of Bartolommeo Caraffa is interesting, as being one of the few examples of the work of *Paolo Romano*, a native born Roman artist.

S. Prisca

This church has been traditionally connected with Aquila and Priscilla, to whom S. Paul twice sends greeting, including "the church that is in their house." S. Peter is supposed to have lived with them, and in the crypt there is a capital formed into a baptismal font, which he is said to have used. Besides Priscilla, the wife of Aquila, another S. Priscilla has been connected with the site. She suffered martyrdom towards the end of the third century, and several centuries later her body was brought here from a tomb on the road to Ostia.

S. Saba

The church is at present being restored. It occupies the site of an oratory near the house of Sylvia, the mother of S. Gregory the Great. At one time it was in the possession of Greek monks, who came to Rome probably

from the convent of the same name near Jerusalem. The existing building is of the twelfth century. The excavations which have been made have disclosed the remains of an older structure at a lower level, and a number of sarcophagi have been found. There are remains of frescoes on the walls, and on the entrance there is an inscription of the year 1205, recording the work of *Jacobus*, of the *Cosmas* family, who is supposed to have flourished between the years 1180 and 1213. There is a picturesque loggia above the entrance to the church, from which a fine view of the Aventine, the Capitol, and the Palatine is obtained.

CHURCHES, ETC., ON THE JANICULUM AND IN TRASTEVERE

S. Pietro in Montorio

THE church occupies a commanding situation on the side of the Janiculum. The view from the Esplanade is one of the most famous in Rome.

Tradition, not of any very ancient date, places the Crucifixion of S. Peter on the spot where the church now stands. In recent times the site of the martyrdom has been supposed to be close to S. Peter's. The church was restored by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, after the Franciscans were established in the monastery in 1472.

Close to the entrance of the church is the tomb of S. Julian, Archbishop of Ragusa. Proceeding up the right aisle, the first chapel contains a famous picture of the flagellation, by *Sebastiano del Piombo* (1485–1547). In the second chapel there is a Coronation of the Virgin, and on the nave wall above the four cardinal virtues. On the wall above the third chapel the Sibyls are attributed to *Pinturicchio*. In the fifth chapel there is a monument to Cardinal del Monte by *Bartolommeo Ammanati* (1511–92).

In the left aisle, beginning at the entrance, the first chapel is that of the Stigmata. Third chapel: Virgin and Child with S. Anna, in the style of the Umbrian school; on the wall above, Kings David and Solomon. Fourth chapel: altar-piece wrongly attributed to Vandyck; the stucco decoration is doubtfully assigned to Bernini. Fifth chapel: Baptism of Christ by *Daniele da Volterra* (1509–66). It is supposed that Beatrice

Cenci was buried near the high altar. In the choir there is a Crucifixion of S. Peter by *Guido Reni.*

From the right aisle a door leads to the cloisters. Here (probably in 1502) *Bramante* built the **"Tempietto"** over the spot where it was supposed the cross of S. Peter stood. The design is regarded as an evidence of the influence which the ruins of ancient Rome had on the style of the architect. The situation imposes unusual difficulty, on account of the limited space.

Simplicity in design, reserve in the use of decoration, and a general sense of restraint, which is almost ascetic in its rigour, has, however, produced a highly characteristic monument.

The building contains two chapels. In the upper are statues of S. Peter and the four evangelists. The lower chapel is decorated in stucco from designs said to be by Bramante. The scenes begin with the Giving of the keys, then follow, the Raising of Tabitha, the Walking on the sea, the Miraculous draught of fishes, the Ship of S. Peter, the Denial, the Cutting off the ear of Malchus, the Fall of Simon Magus, the Washing of the feet, the Finding of the tribute money, Death of Ananias and Sapphira, and the Crucifixion.

S. Onofrio

From the little piazza there is a view similar to that from S. Pietro in Montorio. The church and monastery were built between 1430 and 1440. The monastery is inhabited by monks who take their name from S. Jerome. Enter through a portico in which there are three frescoes by *Domenichino,* representing scenes in the life of S. Jerome. First, his baptism ; second, the vision in which Jerome saw himself before the throne of God, where he was condemned as no Christian, for his heart was declared to be with Cicero, and was only allowed to go when he had foresworn the reading of secular books ; Third, his preparation in the desert for the work of his life ; he subdued his proud flesh, and beat his breast, praying for peace, until at the end of four years it seemed to him that he was in the Company of Angels

From this portico the visitor enters the cloister painted with scenes from the life of S. Onofrio, a hermit of the Theban desert, who is said to have lived in a cave for sixty years without seeing any human being.

The church is entered through the sacristy. The paintings in the semidome over the altar are attributed in the upper part to *Pinturicchio*, and in the lower part to *Peruzzi* (1481–1536). In the highest part of the semidome is the Father Eternal, beneath are angels painted in pairs. In the zone below the angels, the central picture represents the Coronation of the Virgin, with apostles and Sibyls at each side. On the wall beneath there is a fresco of Madonna and Child, with the Adoration of the Magi to the spectator's left, and the Flight into Egypt to the right. In the right aisle is the monument of Cardinal Sacco, with Madonna and Child above. In the chapel near by is a painting by *Annibale Caracci* (1560–1609). On the opposite side of the church is the tomb of Cardinal Mezzofanti (1774–1849), librarian at the Vatican, and famous for the number of languages he could speak. At the west end of the church is the ancient **tomb of Tasso,** and in a side chapel to the left is the monument erected to his memory in the time of Pius IX.

The monastery is famous as the last retreat of the poet. He lived for many years at the Court of Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara. In his later life his mind is said to have become clouded, and he was placed in confinement. After his release he wandered from one Court to another throughout Italy. In his last days he was called to Rome to receive the poet's crown, but the ceremony never took place. He was brought to the monastery of S. Onofrio in the spring of 1595, and within a month he died.

S. Cecilia

(The church may be reached by the tram which passes through the Piazza Venezia, and crosses the Tiber to the Trastevere district. Alight in the Piazza Crisogono. A walk of about five minutes to the left along the Via

Genovesi leads to the church, which is entered through a large forecourt.)

The church derives its chief interest from its situation on the site of the ancient house of S. Cecilia. The legend of the life of this saint is described in the account of the church of S. Urbano alla Caffarella, where the story is painted on the walls (see "Churches without the Walls").

In the porch there are several tombs and inscriptions, with fragments of crosses and sculptured slabs.

The general effect of the interior is uninteresting. In the eighteenth century the nave columns were enclosed in oblong masses of brickwork, and the gallery has been covered with a grating. To the right and left of the central door there are two noteworthy **tombs.** The one to the left is that of Cardinal Fortiguerra (*d.* 1473). In the lunette the Father Eternal is represented, attended by angels. Above the tomb there is a relief of Madonna and Child, with S. Cecilia and a bishop. Beneath is the figure of the Cardinal. The monument is typical of the work of *Mino da Fiesole* (1431–84), and of the style of Tuscan sculpture in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Its simplicity, refinement, and delicacy are noteworthy. The design and detail should be kept in mind for comparison with Roman monuments of other periods and schools. The tomb to the right of the central door is that of an Englishman, Cardinal Hertford, who died in 1398. The monument is not in its original condition. There is no canopy, and but little of the elaboration usual in tombs of the period. At each end of the sarcophagus there is a fine floriated cross.

In the right aisle the first chapel contains a fresco of the Crucifixion. The passage next to this leads to the **chapel** of S. Cecilia, which is on the site of the Caladarium, part of the ancient house. Here, according to legend, the saint was tortured by suffocation in steam, and afterwards beheaded on the stone which forms the altar. Opposite is a picture attributed to *Domenichino*, representing the angels' visit to SS. Cecilia and Valerian.

The entrance to the sacristy is opposite to this chapel. On the roof frescoes attributed to *Pinturicchio* (1454–1513) represent the Father Eternal and the four evangelists. There is also a statue of S. Sebastian, and a small relief with Madonna and Child by *Mino da Fiesole*.

Beyond the entrance to the sacristy there is in the right aisle the tomb of Cardinal Sfondrato (*d.* 1618). At the extreme end of the right aisle is a fresco showing how S. Cecilia revealed the place of her burial in the cemetery of S. Calixtus to Paschal I (817–24), when he was searching for her body.

In front of the choir there is a recumbent statue of S. Cecilia, by *Maderna*, representing the body as it was found when the tomb was opened in 1599. In the choir the tabernacle over the altar is in the Gothic style. It is attributed to Arnolfo del Cambio. Note also the fine Paschal candlestick.

To the left of the choir is a small tabernacle for holy oil, in the style of the Roman marble masons.

In the semidome are **mosaics** belonging to the time of Paschal I (817–24). Christ is the central figure. He raises one hand in blessing after the Greek fashion, and in the other He carries a scroll. Over the centre of the semidome is the Divine hand. To the spectator's left, stand S. Paul with a book, S. Agatha, and Pope Paschal with a square nimbus, and carrying a model of the church. To the right are S. Peter with the keys, S. Valerian, and S. Cecilia, the two latter—with covered hands, carry their crowns of martyrdom. The scene is set among flowers, and at each side a palm tree springs up. Over the head of Pope Paschal is the phœnix. Beneath the design of the semidome six sheep from each of the cities Bethlehem and Jerusalem approach the Lamb, who stands in the centre, on the mountain from which flow the four rivers of Paradise. The forms in this mosaic are unusually stiff. The expression is fixed and unnatural. The placing of the figures is so arranged as to destroy the sense of space, and in every way the design is one of the most crude to be found in Rome. Yet the artist has not lost his sense of colour.

The deep blue background and the gold and white of the robes are so arranged as to give some charm even to work as rude as this is.

Lower Church of S. Cecilia

(The original house of S. Cecilia and the first church which was dedicated in it, may be reached by a stair at the side of the choir or by an entrance close to the Fortiguerra monument.)

The whole of the underground building, originally the house of S. Cecilia, has been excavated and restored. It has also been fitted with electric light. Going down the stair close to the choir, the visitor at once enters the crypt which has been decorated with mosaics by Cardinal Rampolla.

Under the altar lie the bodies of SS. Cecilia, Pope Urban (223–30), Valeriano, Tiburtius, and Pope Lucius (252–53). On the wall over the altar the modern mosaic represents the glory of S. Cecilia as she rises to heaven in an aureole supported by angels.

On the wall to the right of the altar is a mosaic representing S. Cecilia with her husband Valerian and his brother Tiburtius. To the left an angel descends between S. Cecilia and Valerian, and gives to each a lily, in token of their vow of chastity. In the left wall of the crypt an altar is dedicated in the names of SS. Catherine and Agatha, and to the right the altar is dedicated in the name of S. Agnes. The lunettes of the crypt are filled with mosaics representing symbolical subjects, such as the Lamb, the Cross, the peacock, stags, a vase or fountain, birds, plants, etc.

Behind the principal altar an ambulatory leads to another altar with a mosaic representing SS. Urban, Lucius, and Maximus.

Returning to the crypt, the visitor passes out by a door in the left wall. Immediately opposite is an altar which is, traditionally, the first one consecrated in the original church. The two marbles with crosses are said to date from the sixth century, and the pillars at the side from the fourth century. Passing along the wall there is a

narrow opening to the right, showing some ancient masonry. A few steps farther on is the entrance to a large chamber which has been fitted up as a **Christian museum.** In the centre is the front of the sarcophagus which was the original burial-place of S. Cecilia. It is sculptured with a figure of the Good Shepherd. On the back is a twelfth-century inscription, with a cross in marble mosaic. Round the room are various sarcophagi, and fragments, such as martyrs' crowns, doves, an anchor, dolphins, etc. The only non-Christian example is a sarcophagus with a banquet of Diana on the lid. At one end wine is being poured out, at the other end a boar is prepared for cooking, and in the centre the banquet is celebrated.

Leave the Christian museum by a door opposite to that by which it is entered, and turn to the left. There is, at the end of the passage, an altar dedicated to Minerva, said to date from republican times. Returning along this passage there is a bust of Demosthenes, and further on a chamber which has been called the wine-cellar, from the amphoræ found in it.

Returning through the Christian museum the visitor reaches a chamber known as the Baptistery, where there are mosaics of imperial times. Turning to the left there is the granary, with a number of circular pits for storing grain.

From this point the subterranean building runs under the court of the present church. One of the halls contains the pagan antiquities which were collected during the excavations. From this chamber a stair leads up to the level of the upper church, which is entered close to the Fortiguerra monument.

On the upper part of the entrance wall of the church *Pietro Cavallini* painted a **fresco of the Last Judgment**, and other subjects. This part of the building is enclosed for the service of the convent, and can only be visited by permission. Reconstruction and restoration has destroyed the greater part of the painting. Only the upper part of the Judgment is now visible, with the remains of a fresco representing the dream of Jacob on the side

wall to the left, and an Annunciation on the side wall to the right. The paintings are supposed to date from about the year 1293, and they may be compared with the mosaics beneath the semidome in S. Maria in Trastevere, which are supposed to have been made about 1290 by *Pietro Cavallini*. According to Vasari, Cavallini was the assistant of Giotto when the latter came to Rome. The discovery of the Judgment fresco has, however, led to controversy about the relation of the two men. Some critics hold that Cavallini, drawing his inspiration from the antique, influenced Giotto; while others think that the genius of Giotto was predominant in the new style which marks alike the frescoes at Sta. Cecilia and the works of Giotto at Assisi, Florence, and Padua.

In the centre of the Judgment fresco Christ is seated in a mandorla, attended by angels. Beneath His feet are the instruments of the Passion. To the spectator's right two angels blow trumpets, and three direct the damned, who are mostly naked, towards the fires of hell, which are seen to the extreme right. To the spectator's left two angels blow trumpets, and three others point the souls on their way towards heaven. The blessed appear to be arranged in divisions. Nearest the trumpeters are monks, then follow patriarchs, after come ecclesiastics, and farthest to the left a group of women. It is, however, difficult to speak certainly of this part of the design. On a level with the mandorla in which Christ is seated, Madonna stands to the spectator's left, and S. John Baptist to the right. Beyond, to the right, six apostles, and to the left six apostles. The picture cannot fail to give pleasure. The design is simple, and, so far as can be seen, symmetrical. The colour has suffered, but it is still harmonious and charming. Greys and pinks predominate; the wings of the angels show the usual gradation of tints, and the shadows on the faces frequently have the green tone common in fourteenth-century work. The picture of Christ does not conform to the common type; the figure is that of a young man with long hair and a short soft beard;

the face is round and wanting in distinction. The expression is beneficent, but it is neither that of the Man of sorrows nor of the Judge of all the earth. The arm is stretched forward to show the wounded hand, and blood trickles from the feet. Madonna to the left of the mandorla has a purple robe which veils her head. The figure is heavy and undistinguished. S. John Baptist to the right is the solitary figure in which natural emotion verges on sentiment. The painting of the principal figures is solid and gives a sense of relief and reality. The apostles sit somewhat formally in ranges of choir-stalls; their draperies are simple and dignified. The painter has control of gesture and expression, differences of age and character are simply rendered, and some of the heads of the younger apostles are modelled on classical types.

The picture as a whole makes no great demand on the spectator. There is no austere elevating spirit, nor is there intense emotion, still less is there any mystical quality. It is the work of a competent artist, whose common sense keeps him on the plain level, reaching neither to the intensity of Orcagna nor falling into commonplace extravagance. A simple naturalism is the most general characteristic. These frescoes are discussed in the second volume of the new edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in Italy*.

S. Maria in Trastevere

(The church may be most easily reached by the tram-car which passes through the Piazza Venezia and crosses the Tiber by the Ponte Garibaldi. Take the Via della Lungara to the right from the tram-station in the Piazza Crisogono. The Piazza S. Maria, in which the church stands, is a few minutes' walk distant.)

The church is built on the site of an oil-spring, of which there is a tradition dating beyond the Christian era. Another version of its history is that the spring dated from the birth of Christ, and was regarded by the Christians as a symbol of divine grace. A building known as "taberna meritoria," variously described

as a hospital and as a resort for sailors trading to the port of Rome, existed on the spot. It appears in the mosaic of the Nativity of Christ, by *Pietro Cavallini*, in the apse. The district in which the church stands was connected with the history of Pope Calixtus (219–23), who built a memorial chapel here. Pope Julius I (337–52) rebuilt or reconstructed the church, and it was in this Julian basilica that Ursicinus, the opponent of Damasus, was elected Pope on the death of Liberius in 366. The struggle thus begun ended by the slaughter of the supporters of Ursicinus in the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore.

The **façade** of the church has picturesque decoration in mosaic, originally of the twelfth century. Madonna with the Child is attended by ten virgins. It would be natural to interpret these as representing the wise and foolish virgins of the parable, but there is the difficulty that eight of them have burning lamps. The original intention may have been interfered with in a restoration of the fourteenth century.

The crypt in which the bodies of SS. Calixtus and Calepodius rest is due to Gregory IV in the ninth century. In the twelfth century Innocent II, a member of the Trasteverine family of the Papareschi, reconstructed the building, and covered the semidome with its mosaics. At the end of the thirteenth century a member of the Stefaneschi family caused Pietro Cavallini to execute a series of mosaics below the semidome.

The **porch** contains a fine collection of inscriptions and carvings from the catacombs. There are also sculptured slabs, remains of frescoes, and the tomb of Cardinal Campeggio, who was concerned in the negotiations for the divorce of Henry VIII from Queen Catherine of Aragon. One of the sculptured panels is a characteristic example of rude Italian design. Peacocks standing on crosses drink from the chalice: a symbolical figure for the immortal soul nourished by the Eucharist.

On the end wall of the porch there is a pastoral scene of shepherds and their flocks, dating from early times.

Other panels represent Jonah under the gourd, and the three Hebrew children in the furnace. Upon others are beautifully carved crosses, with sun and moon, etc. Each of the entrance doors has fine carving on the jambs.

The **interior** is distinctly impressive. Rows of massive columns carry a heavy entablature, and they give a certain air of massive ruggedness to the nave, which is in fine contrast with the jewelled splendour of the choir.

On the wall of the entrance passage, and facing into the nave, is an exceedingly graceful little tabernacle for the holy oil made by *Mino da Fiesole* (1431–84).

In the left aisle a plain tomb against the wall is the burial-place of Innocent II (*d.* 1143). The sacristy opens out of the left aisle. In it there are interesting fragments of mosaics, with water-birds and a fisherman drawing in his nets, dating from pagan times. At the end of the left aisle, and on the level of the choir, there is a picturesque grouping of sculpture, such as is rare in Roman churches. An altar dedicated to SS. Philip and James forms the centre. On one side is the tomb of Cardinal Philip d'Alençon (*d.* 1397), and beneath it a relief of the death of the Virgin. On the other side is the tomb of Cardinal Pietro Stefaneschi (*d.* 1417). These monuments are Gothic in general character, although they belong to the period of transition. The Stefaneschi tomb has been attributed to the Roman sculptor *Paolo Romano.* On the opposite side of the choir the Renaissance tombs of the Armellini, belonging to the early sixteenth century, offer an interesting comparison.

The high altar has over it a tabernacle resting on porphyry columns. Near to it is a fine Paschal candlestick, and in the choir there is a marble chair, the arms of which are formed of carved lions.

At the end of the right aisle is the Capella della Madonna Strada Cupa, containing a picture of Madonna and Child, with SS. Sebastians and Rocco, attributed to *Perugino.* At the bottom of the stairs leading to the level of the nave some of the stones known as ponderaria are built into the wall. They were standards

of weight, and are said sometimes to have been used to increase the sufferings of martyrs by being fastened to their feet.

The **mosaics** in the semidome date from the time of Innocent II (1130–43). The subject is the Enthronement of Madonna. Christ and the Virgin are seated side by side. On the page of the book in the hands of Christ is written, "Veni electa mea, et ponam in te thronum meum." On the Virgin's scroll is a quotation from Canticles VIII. 3: "His left hand should be under my head, and His right hand should embrace me." To the spectator's right of the central group there are S. Peter, Pope Cornelius (251), Pope Julius (337–52), and S. Calepodius (suffered under the Emperor Alexander). To the left stand SS. Calixtus (219–23), Lawrence, and Innocent II. Christ and Madonna are nimbed. Christ and S. Peter alone are unshod. In the firmament overhead the hand of God appears, and the Lamb is figured twice. Beneath the central design is the nimbed Lamb, and towards Him the procession of sheep approach. The figures in this part of the mosaic show but little sign of the changes which were already at work among the sculptors of Northern France. The attitudes are stiff and conventional, the expression is fixed and vacant, the draperies are heavy and formal, with great precision of ecclesiastical detail; the robe of Madonna is a marvel of decoration, and her crown is a mass of jewels.

On the face of the arch there are in the upper part the four symbolical animals, and the seven candlesticks. Below these, to the spectator's left, stands the prophet Isaiah, and to the right Jeremiah. On the scroll of Isaiah is a quotation from Isaiah VII. 14: "Therefore the Lord Himself shall give you a sign; behold, a Virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Emmanuel." The scroll of Jeremiah refers to Lamentations IV. 20, and the caged birds above the prophet are illustrations of the same passage, which reads in the Vulgate: "Christ the Lord was made captive in our sins." Beneath each prophet are genii supporting

draperies strewn with flowers, and a vase with doves, symbols of the joys of Paradise.

The series of mosaics below, depicting various scenes from the life of the Virgin, belong to a time about 150 years later than those in the semidome. Bertoldo Stefaneschi, the donor, is shown in the lowest part of the design, being presented to Madonna, who with the Child is in a circular aureole. To the spectator's left S. Paul stands with sword and book, to the right S. Peter lays his hand on the donor's head, who kneels venerating the Child. The figure of S. Peter is singularly fine. These mosaics are attributed to *Pietro Cavallini* about the year 1290.

The series from the life of the Virgin begins to the spectator's left. (1) Birth of the Virgin. S. Anna is veiled, and rests on a heavy cushion in the usual ancient manner. (2) Annunciation. The angel appears with a fine sense of motion; his expression is grave. Madonna sits on a chair forming part of a large throne. She is veiled in the traditional way. (3) Nativity of Christ. The scene is a mountainous landscape, with a large cave. Madonna rests on a bed of traditional form, such as is common in twelfth and thirteenth century MSS. The Child is swathed, the nimbus is cruciform, and the features are not those of a young child. The angels, in their expression, in the coiling of their hair, and in the stretch of wing, are similar to those in the Old Testament series in the upper church of Assisi. In the foreground is the "Taberna Meritoria." The shepherds wear buskins like those at S. Urbano alla Caffarella, and the one who plays on his horn excites recollection of earlier design rather than of a new manner. (4) Adoration of the Magi. Madonna has a blue veil and robe. The Child is fully clothed. The nimbus has a red cross. Only Joseph and the three kings appear. There are no historical accessories. Two of the kings bend before the Child in a constrained position. (5) Presentation in the Temple. Only five figures appear. Joseph bows ceremonially as he offers the two birds. Madonna stretches her hand towards the Child, but without

emotion. The Child is clothed and nimbed. The design is dignified and spacious. (6) Death of the Virgin. Madonna lies on the bier, with her hands crossed. The repose of death is well rendered. The scene is distinctly ceremonial. S. Peter censes the body, the apostles are distinguished by the nimbus, and the ecclesiastical rank of some of the onlookers is denoted by the pallium. The design is skilful and effective. At the same time there is a curious air of arrested motion in the pose of the figures, while the treatment of Christ is awkward, and lacking in freshness and vigour. Note the golden nimbus with the green cross, and the strangely robed symbol of the soul.

Like all transition work, these mosaics are interesting. They show that particular phase of art in which the grace of the finest tradition has been to some extent lost, while the new life of fourteenth century art is not yet very definitely felt. Compare, for instance, the scene of the Presentation with that attributed to Giotto in the lower church of Assisi. Cavallini treats it primarily as a mystery: for Giotto it is, in the first place, a drama in which the feelings and passions of ordinary humanity find a simple and refined expression. A certain weight and solemnity characterize all the scenes by Cavallini. Human emotion, intellectual activity, and a sense of the graciousness of life have but little influence as yet. Notwithstanding this, the brilliance of the colour, and the magnificence of the golden background, make this series one of the most striking in Rome. When the morning sun strikes into the choir the brilliance from the richly incrusted surfaces lights up the whole church with a radiance that can only be compared to the reflections from the most beautiful of precious stones.

The Villa Farnesina

The Villa Farnesina was built for the Sienese banker, Agostino Chigi (1465–*d.* 1520), probably in the years 1509–10. The design is generally attributed to *Baldassare Peruzzi* (1481–1536), although one eminent critic has ascribed it to Raphael. The outside of the Villa was

originally decorated with designs by Peruzzi. The visitor first enters the Hall of Psyche. Agostino Chigi commissioned *Raphael* to paint the story of Cupid and Psyche, in what was then the open loggia of the villa. The work was finished in 1518, and the general design is due to Raphael. Studies by him for some of the figures are in existence, but the execution is the joint work of *Giulo Romana* and *Francesco Penni*, while the garlands belong to *Giovanni da Udine*.

The open loggia was ultimately closed in, and *Carlo Maratta* (1625–1713) restored the frescoes.

The story of Cupid and Psyche became allied to Christian and mediæval thought, as an expression of the relation between love in its highest and widest development, and the human soul. To Psyche there came the sovereign good, in the form of love. Having transgressed the conditions on which she enjoyed this good, having sought the forbidden knowledge, she became a thrall to the body, and passed through the fiery trials of life. She was bidden to fetch the mystic water from styx, and having succeeded in this task she was renewed and purified, and received again the gift of love to be enjoyed in the eternity of the courts of heaven.

Dante, addressing those who are purging themselves from the sin of pride, says, "Perceive ye not that we are worms born to form the angelic butterfly?" (*Purg.* x. 124). It is the purifying force of love that works the change, that gives a new liberty to the soul which has been imprisoned in the terrestrial bondage of the body.

The coarse forms in which the scholars of Raphael have clothed the story make it difficult to realize this legend of the human soul, finding its true goal in the Love that orders the heavens, yet it is probable that these were the ideas which prompted the design of Raphael. It is equally difficult to recognize in the Amorini, associated with the symbols of the powers of the great god of Olympus and their fellows, the all-pervading power of Love. And yet they inspire alike the eagle of Jove, the dogs of Pluto, the panther on which Bacchus rides,

and the hammer of Vulcan. This Love is the order by which the world is governed: by it the sun rules the day, the moon has command over the night, earth and sea are held in a common subjection, heat and cold, moisture and drought, each has its place, and the seasons follow in due course. Love is "the light, the fragrance, and the melody," by which the powers of Olympus are knit together, so that creation is inclined to its true goal.

Turning to the series representing the story of Cupid and Psyche—

(**Plan xxi**) **A.** Venus, jealous of the beauty of Psyche, orders Cupid to punish her by inspiring her with a despicable love.

B. Cupid, instead of obeying the commands of Venus, falls in love with Psyche, and shows her to the graces. Part of the figure of Cupid, and one of the graces, is said to have been painted by Raphael.

C. Venus, enraged by the treason of her son Cupid, complains to Juno and Ceres. The two goddesses, in their sympathy for mortals, and in their sense of the community of all things, take the part of Cupid and Psyche.

D. Venus, in her anger, rises through the heaven in her chariot drawn by doves on her way to appeal to Jupiter.

E. Venus appeals to Jupiter. He is seated on his eagle, and he orders that Psyche shall be given up to Venus.

F. Mercury is sent to publish the command of Jupiter.

G. Psyche has submitted to Venus, who has imposed upon her various trials. Psyche has conquered Death, and has successfully brought the vase of magical water from Styx. She is borne heavenward by Amoretti.

H. Psyche presents the vase to Venus. A sketch for this picture attributed to Raphael is in the Louvre.

J. Jupiter embraces Cupid, who has begged him to release Psyche from further trial, and to allow them to be reunited.

K Mercury carries Psyche up to heaven. The soul

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her case before the Assembly, but she is disarmed by pity. Mercury gives to Psyche the cup of immortality.

BB. The banquet by which the gods of Olympus celebrate the immortality of Psyche and her union with Cupid.

The following are the subjects in the alcoves above the windows and panels. An Amoretto is associated with some symbol of the God or the Hero.

L. Cupid. **M.** Amoretto, with the eagle and darts of Jupiter. **N.** Amoretto, with the dart and trident of Neptune. **O.** Amoretto, with the dogs of Pluto. **P.** Amoretto, with the sword and shield of Mars. **Q.** Amoretto, with the Griffen of Apollo. **R.** Amoretto, with Caduceus of Mercury. **S.** Amoretto, with clusters of grapes, and the panther of Bacchus. **T.** Amoretto, with the pipes of Pan. **U.** Amoretto, with shield of Perseus. **V.** Amoretto, with helmet and shield of Theseus. **W.** Two Amoretti. **X.** Amoretto, with the hammer of Vulcan. **Y.** Cupid, guiding a lion and a seahorse through the sky.

From the entrance hall we pass to the **Hall of the triumph of Galatea.**

The pictures on the roof (20 and 21 on plan **xxii**) are attributed to *Baldassare Peruzzi.* The signs of the Zodiac associated with the deities of Olympus (1 to 10) were also probably painted by him, and are supposed to have been finished in 1512.

The lunettes (11 to 18) are usually attributed to *Sebastiano del Piombo.* The large head in the lunette (19) is supposed to be by *Michael Angelo.* The figure of Polyphemus on the panel of the wall (22) is by *Sebastiano del Piombo.*

The triumph of Galatea (23) is the work of *Raphael,* painted probably in the year 1514.

The pictures on the vaulting (1–10 on plan **xxii**) are not very clear in their significance. The signs of the Zodiac are associated with some one of the gods, or with a story from Greek mythology.

(1) Ganymede borne up by an eagle.

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(8) Mars and Mercury, with signs of Libra and Scorpio for September and October.

(9) Apollo and Sagittarius, the sign for November.

(10) A fish-tailed goat and Venus sailing on a shell, probably signifying Capricornus and Aquarius for December and January.

Of the lunettes (11) and (12) are not seen in the plan, being overhead at the point of view chosen.

(11) Tereus having married Procne, and carried off her sister Philomela, they revenge themselves by slaying his son and serving his flesh to the father. When Tereus is about to kill them, they are all three turned into birds, the hoopoe, the swallow, and the nightingale.

(12) Agraulos and Herse, daughters of Kekrops, received from Athena a chest which they opened in defiance of the bidding of the goddess. They found in it Erichthonios entwined by a serpent, and in their horror they flung themselves down the rock of the Acropolis.

(13) Daidalos and his son Ikaros made wings for themselves, so that they might escape from Minos of Crete. Ikaros lost his wings by going too near the sun, and fell into the sea.

(14) The triumph of Juno, who drives her peacocks, and is attended by her handmaiden Iris, goddess of the rainbow.

(15) When Minos attacked Megara, Scylla, daughter of King Nisus, out of love for Minos, cut off her father's hair, and so led to his death. Scylla swam after the ship of Minos, as he sailed away, and her father, changed into an eagle, attacked her, so that she became a fish.

(16) Phaëton, having tried to drive the chariot of the sun, lost control of his steeds, and brought the earth near to destruction by heat and drought. He was killed by a bolt from Zeus.

(17) Oreithyia, daughter of Erectheus, carried off by Boreas.

(18) Zephyr, the west wind, brings the flowers dedicated to the goddess Flora.

(19) Head ascribed to *Michael Angelo.*

The pictures on the roof represent:

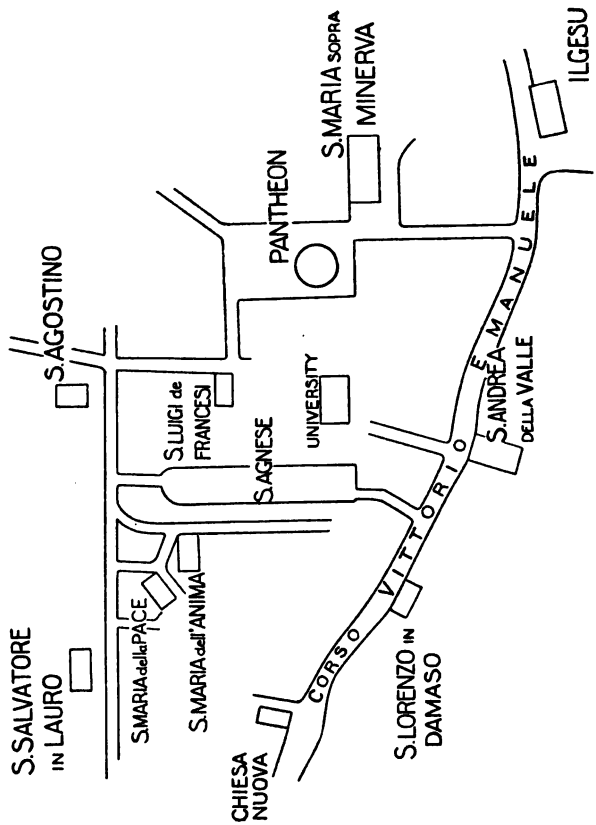
(20) Kallisto drawn by bulls.

(21) Perseus and Medusa.

On panels on the side wall:

(22) "Polyphemus," by *Sebastiano del Piombo.*

(23) The triumph of Galatea. A famous picture painted by *Raphael.* The love of Polyphemus, the one-eyed Cyclops, for Galatea, is described by Theocritus, and is perhaps the best comment upon the picture. Polyphemus, he says, found that there was no other medicine against love except the Muses. So, pining in his place, he sat by the seaweed of the beach with the wound of the mighty Cypris' arrow in his heart, and sang of Galatea. (Theocritus, *Bion and Moschus*, translated by A. Lang: Idyll. XI.)



CHURCHES IN THE CAMPO MARZIO.

CHURCHES IN THE CAMPO MARZIO

S. Maria sopra Minerva

S. MARIA SOPRA MINERVA and the monastery attached to it have been associated with the history of the Inquisition in Rome. Giordomo Bruno, the philosopher and physicist, received his sentence here. Originally a Dominican monk, he cut himself off from the order, and spent many years wandering over Northern Europe. In 1593 he was induced to return to Venice, and was denounced by his host to the officers of the Inquisition. The Venetian Government allowed him to be handed over to the Papal Nuncio, and for five years there is no further record concerning him. In February, 1598, he was brought to Rome and cast into the prison of the Inquisition. A year later his trial began, and finally on 9 February, 1600, Bruno, kneeling before his judges, received his sentence in S. Maria sopra Minerva. He was excommunicated and handed over to the secular arm, with the prayer that he should be punished with as much clemency as possible, and without shedding of blood. To this Bruno replied, "The sentence you pronounce perhaps troubles you more at this moment than it does me." Eight days later he was burned in the Campo di Fiori.

A few years later another man of science knelt before judges in S. Maria sopra Minerva. In the year 1616 Galileo incurred a reprimand for certain propositions which he had maintained concerning the solar system and the motion of the earth. Many years afterwards he published another book, which was held by the In-

quisition to be an infringement of the decree of 1616. In 1633 he was summoned to Rome, and was forced to withdraw what he had written. He was condemned to imprisonment. The actual punishment, however, was nominal, and he was ultimately allowed to return to Florence.

The building stands on the site of an ancient temple of Minerva. There is record of the existence of a church in the eighth century, and this was rebuilt in the Gothic style under Pope Nicholas III from designs by *Fra Sisto* and *Fra Ristori*, who had previously designed the Church of S. Maria Novella in Florence. This church, and the chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum, are the only important examples of the Gothic style in Rome. In other parts of the Peninsula, Gothic forms are common, but the style never struck any deep root in the Italian mind. The extension of space upwards in the direction of the dimly lighted vaulting suitably expressed the sombreness, the complexity, and the mystical tendency of the northern mind. The simplicity, the clarity, the gaiety, and the directness of the Italian is more in sympathy with a style providing unbroken wall surface for fresco and a sense of spaciousness rather than of mystery.

The Dominicans moved their headquarters from S. Sabina to S. Maria sopra Minerva in 1370, and ever since the church has been served by this order.

The interior. If we enter the church by the door to the right of the western façade, the monument of Nero Diotisalvi (1482) is to the left. Proceeding up the right aisle, there is in the fourth chapel the tomb of Urban VII (1590). The next chapel is the burial-place of the parents of Pope Clement VIII (Aldobrandini). In the next chapel there are the tombs of the Bishop of Calahorra (1480) to the right, and of the Bishop of Nicosia (1495) to the left. On the entrance of this chapel there is an inscription to the memory of Robert, son of William Wilberforce, who died at Albano in 1857.

Passing into the right transept, a small chapel contains a crucifix attributed to Giotto. The **Chapel of S.**

Thomas Aquinas, or, as it is sometimes called, the Caraffa Chapel, forms the end of the transept. The frescoes in it are seen best early in the morning. They were painted for Cardinal Caraffa by *Filippino Lippi* in the years 1489–93. The subject of the altar-piece is the Annunciation. To the right, S. Thomas Aquinas presents the donor, Cardinal Caraffa.

On the wall behind the altar is painted the Assumption of the Virgin, with the apostles below. In the lunette to the right S. Thomas Aquinas kneels before a crucifix, and hears the words, "Bene scripsisti de me Thoma." A Dominican brother, who witnessed the miracle, is seen fleeing in terror, and to the right of the picture a group of people discuss the matter.

Below this lunette is the famous "Disputa," of S. Thomas Aquinas. The note of the picture is struck in the inscription, carried by two little angels standing on the cornice of the archway. The quotation is from Psalm CXIX. 130: "The opening of Thy words giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple." The saint is enthroned in a magnificent alcove, and in the lunette over his head is the legend from Proverbs VIII. 7: "For my mouth shall utter truth, and wickedness is an abomination to my lips." On the book which S. Thomas holds are the words, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise" (1 Cor. I. 19). Under the feet of the saint lies the philosopher Averrhoes, holding a scroll with words founded on the Book of Wisdom VII. 30: "Against wisdom evil doth not prevail." S. Thomas has as his assessors four symbolical figures. To the right of the spectator are Grammar and Prudence (?). On the other side Theology (?), and to the extreme left Philosophy. The scene in the forecourt is illustrated by the words which run along the base of the throne: "They shall be made to stumble, their own tongue being against them." To the spectator's left stands the heavily robed figure of Arius, with a book at his feet, in which his error is set forth. The ancient figure to the right is that of Sabellius, who looks down at the page upon which his heresy is written. In the background

is a view of Rome, with mediæval buildings, probably the Lateran palace, before it was destroyed by Sixtus V, and an equestrian statue, doubtless that of Marcus Aurelius, which was removed to the Capitol in 1538. This picture of the triumph of Aquinas over infidels repeats the idea painted by *Traini* at Pisa in 1346, and in the Spanish chapel (Florence) towards the end of the fourteenth century. On the roof of the chapel are four Sibyls, said by Vasari to have been the work of *Raffaellino del Garbo.*

The monument on the left wall of the chapel is that of the Caraffa Pope, Paul IV (1555–9), one of the prime movers in the Catholic reaction of the sixteenth century.

The tomb of Durandus, Bishop of Mende (1237–96), and author of the *Rationale divinorum officiorum,* is on the wall to the left of the entrance to the chapel of S. Thomas Aquinas. The work is attributed to *Giovanni* of the family of *Cosmas,* who was the sculptor of the tomb of Cardinal Gonsalvo in S. Maria Maggiore and the Surdi tomb in Sta. Balbina. Over the tomb there is an elaborate Gothic canopy covering a mosaic; Madonna with the Child is seated on a chair of state. Durandus kneels and is presented by a bishop. On the other side stands S. Dominic. The monument is one of the most picturesque and effective in Rome.

Under the high altar the body of S. Catherine of Siena is preserved. In 1866 Pius IX proclaimed her the patron saint of Rome.

In the **choir** there are inscriptions on the floor marking the burial-place of Bembo (1470–1547), who served several of the sixteenth-century Popes, and who was a prominent member of the brilliant society at the close of the Renaissance period; also an inscription to Cardinal Casanate, founder of the famous library in the monastery of S. Maria sopra Minerva. There are also two imposing monuments designed by Baccio Bandinelli; to the right that of Clement VII (1523–34), to the left that of Leo X (1513–22). The statue of Clement is by *Nanni di Baccio Bigio,* that of Leo by *Raffaele da Montelupo.*

The development of style in the great Roman tombs

may be followed by comparing the following monuments: (1) the tomb of Eugenius IV in S. Salvatore in Lauro, designed on what may be called the Florentine model; (2) transitional tombs between the early and later Renaissance, such as those designed by Andrea Sansovino in the choir of S. Maria del Popolo, made in the first decade of the sixteenth century; (3) the fully developed grand style of the Medici Popes in the choir of S. Maria sopra Minerva; (4) the seventeenth-century style of Bernini, as exemplified in the tombs of Urban VIII and Alexander VII in S. Peter's; and (5) the work of the eighteenth century, as in the tomb of Benedict XIII in the northern transept of S. Maria sopra Minerva.

To the left of the choir is placed the statue of the "Risen Christ," by *Michael Angelo.* The marble was sent to Rome in an unfinished state, so that the detail should not be damaged. Pietro Urbino, a pupil, was sent to finish it. His work was unsatisfactory, and a certain Federigo Frizzi was employed in his stead. The statue cannot therefore be considered as due to the art of Michael Angelo.

Next to the choir there is a passage leading out of the church. On the left wall is a burial slab in memory of Fra Angelico, who died in Rome in 1455. On the opposite wall is the tomb of Cardinal Latino Malebranca, through whose influence the hermit Peter Morrone was elected Pope.

Passing down the left aisle, the fourth chapel counting from the transept contains a small statue of S. Sebastian, and a head of Christ attributed to Perugino. To the right and left are tombs of the Maffei family. Close to the entrance door in the left aisle there is the tomb of Francesco Tornabuoni, by *Mino da Fiesole*, and above it the tomb of Cardinal Tebaldi, attributed to *Andrea Verrocchio.*

The Pantheon
S. Maria ad Martyres or S. Maria Rotunda

The Pantheon is the monument which most closely connects the Roman Empire with the present day. It

is one of the few buildings which form alike a part of the life of the ancient and the modern city. From the outside the huge rotunda appears to be the work of an engineer rather than an architect. Even the portico cannot be called picturesque, and few would call it beautiful, and yet about the whole there is an impressive quality that places it outside the rules of criticism. The interior is more wonderful even than the exterior. It gives a striking picture of the indomitable force which vitalized the Empire. The building indeed does not make an æsthetic appeal. And even when it was in its full magnificence of marble casing and sculptured cornice it must have been wonderful rather than beautiful. Nor is its interest mainly archæological. What we do gain from it is some insight into the social condition, and the marvellous energy, of the city that was able to bend the civilized world to its will. It is more easy to realize the genius of Imperial Rome here than in any other building; and if its frigid magnificence appeals to the historic more than to the artistic sense, it still remains one of the great things of the world.

In the years 27–25 B.C. Agrippa built a temple in commemoration of the battle of Actium. It was burned in 80 A.D., and restored by Domitian. It was again burned and finally restored in the time of the Emperor Hadrian. It is still uncertain how far the present portico represents the original construction of Agrippa.

In the time of Pope Boniface IV (608–15) the Emperor Phocas allowed the Pope to consecrate the building. The dedication was in the name of all the martyrs, and the festival of All Saints was associated with the church, its celebration being fixed on November 1 by Pope Gregory IV (828–44). When the Emperor Constans visited Rome in 663 he stripped the tiles from the roof, and about a thousand years later (1632) Pope Urban VIII stripped the bronze from the portico.

Passing round the **interior** of the church (to the left hand) the tombs of Perino della Vaga (1499–1547) and Taddeo Zuccaro (1529–68) are near the second altar. Near the fourth altar Raphael was buried in 1520. The

fifth altar marks the burial-place of Annibale Carracci (1560–1609). Passing by the high altar, King Umberto is buried near the tenth altar, and hard by is the tomb of his father, Victor Emmanuel.

S. Luigi de Francesi

(This is the French national church. It was built by Giacomo della Porta in 1589. It is close to the Piazza Navona, and the palace of the Senate, and on the tram-line which goes from the Piazza del Popolo by the Via della Scrofa to the Piazza Venezia.)

On the first pillar in the right aisle there is a monument to the French soldiers who fell in the attack on Rome in 1849. In the second chapel to the right are paintings of the incidents in the life of S. Cecilia by *Domenichino*, the altar-piece is a copy of Raphael's S. Cecilia at Bologna. In the fifth chapel to the right there are panels to the memory of the historian of Art, J. Bap. Seroux d'Agincourt, and to Wicar, the founder of the museum at Lille.

In the left aisle on the first pillar (nearest the door) there is a monument to Claude Lorraine.

S. Maria dell' Anima

(Near the north-west end of the Piazza Navona.)

A German hospital existed in this place from the end of the fourteenth century; the church itself was founded in 1500. The name of Giulio da San Gallo has been connected with the building as architect.

In the fourth chapel in the right aisle there is a Pietà founded on that of Michael Angelo at S. Peter's. At the end of the left aisle is the tomb of Lucas Holstenius, librarian at the Vatican, who died in 1661. Note the ghastly death's heads.

Within the choir to the right is the **tomb** of Adrian VI (1522), the last Pope born north of the Alps. He was the son of a carpenter at Utrecht, who entered the Church and by the favour of the Regent Margaret and the Emperor Maximilian he became a scholar and the tutor of Charles V. He was sent to Spain to secure the in-

terests of his pupil, and was made Bishop and Cardinal, and finally regent of the kingdom. His election to the papacy was the result of the intrigues between the Cardinals of the Imperial and French interests. It was said of him that he acted "like a lawgiver in Plato's ideal state, not like one among the robber people of Romulus." He died within little more than a year of his arrival in Rome, and so little was his rule to the taste of his subjects that his physician was hailed as the liberator of his country. The tomb was designed by Peruzzi and executed by Michael Angelo Sanese and Niccolo Tribolo (1485–1550). The architectural features resemble those of the monuments in the choir of S. Maria del Popolo. The sculpture, however, is inferior, and something of the frigid air of the sixteenth century has taken the place of the graceful fancy of Sansovino's decoration.

Opposite to the tomb of Adrian is that of the Duke of Cleves. S. Maria dell' Anima was at one time regarded as the national church of the Low Countries. It is now connected with the German provinces of the Austrian Empire.

S. Maria della Pace

(is close to S. Maria dell' Anima and the Piazza Navona).

The church was rebuilt on the site of an earlier foundation by Sixtus IV (1471–84). It derives its name from the peace made among the Italian powers in 1482. The design is usually assigned to Baccio Pontelli. He, however, only came to Rome in 1482 or 1483, when the work was well advanced. The internal decorations were continued after the death of Sixtus IV, and the semicircular arcade in front was added during restorations under Alexander VII (1655–67). Medallions of Sixtus and Alexander are carved to right and left of the arcade.

The cloisters are reached by passing up the street to the left, and entering the first door to the right. They were built for Cardinal Oliver Caraffa, from the design of Bramante and were finished in 1504. At one side

is the tomb of Bishop Bocciacio, who died in 1497. These sixteenth-century cloisters ought to be compared with those built by the Roman marble-masons in the thirteenth century, of which those at S. John Lateran are the best example.

The ground plan of the church is peculiar. The nave is only two bays long, and instead of transepts there is an octagon with a small chapel at the end, which serves as a choir. Over the altar there is a miracle-working picture of the Virgin. The principal monument in the church is the **fresco** painted by *Raphael* above the entrance to the first chapel on the right side of the nave. The work was done in 1514 for Agostino Chigi. Raphael had finished the frescoes in the Camera della Segnatura and in the Stanze of Heliodorus. He was at the height of his fame, and the whole conditions of his life were stimulating to his genius. Four Sibyls, attended by angels, are grouped round the arch. To the spectator's left are the Cumean and Persican Sibyls, and to the right the Phrygian and Tiburtine Sibyls. Over the centre of the arch a little winged genius bears a torch symbolical of the light of prophecy. The intention of the picture as a whole is noted on the tablet between the Tiburtine and Phrygian Sibyls, on which the supposed prophecy of the coming of Christ is quoted from Virgil's eclogue.

The design was completed by *Timoteo Viti* (1467–1523), who painted four prophets above the Sibyls. Habbakuk bears the legend, "God shall arise after the third day." Jonah raises his eyes to heaven. David gazes on the words on Daniel's tablet, "I arose and now am with thee."

Few works by any great master have produced such differences of opinion as the Sibyls of S. Maria della Pace. Taine says that it was these "antique goddesses" that revealed to him the beauties of the frescoes in the Stanze of the Vatican. Speaking of the Tiburtine Sibyl (to the spectator's right), one critic says it is impossible to find Raphael here. The grand sentiment is effaced by the inanimate subtleties of the decadence. Another writer says of the same figure that it most recalls the

grand conception and monumental design of the Sistine, and he adds that students of all ages have proclaimed it their favourite. Vasari says of the fresco as a whole, that among many beautiful things it is the most beautiful. The variety of these judgments is perhaps the result of incompatibility between the mind of Raphael and the genius of Michael Angelo, which had fascinated him. It has been said that while there was no question of copying, there was emulation, and if the Sibyls show no sign of imitation there was an evident preoccupation with the Sistine frescoes. One of the most remarkable characteristics of Raphael was the power he had to draw from the genius of other men that which was needed for the growth of his own. The spacious grace of Perugino, the subtlety of Leonardo, the intellectual force of the Florentines, were united with a feeling for style and a peculiar sensibility to beauty, in his receptive mind. The spirit of Michael Angelo, however, was more personal and less traditional than other influences which surrounded Raphael. The isolation, the fierce intensity of temper, the austerity, the exaltation of the one master, had little in common with the character of the other. It was possible for Raphael to guage the forms of the Sistine; it was difficult to inflame them with the spirit of the great seer and prophet. It was easy to see the handwriting on the wall; its interpretation was given only to mighty and solitary souls.

The Cesi chapel next to that of the Chigi was designed by *Michael Angelo*. The extravagant decoration on the face of the arch is attributed to Simone Moxa (1498–1554).

S. Agostino

(is a few minutes' walk from the northern end of the Piazza Navona. It is near S. Luigi de Francesi, and close to the tram-line passing between the Piazza del Popolo and the Piazza Venezia, at the point where the Via della Scrofa opens into the Piazza S. Luigi).

The existing church was built for the Cardinal d' Estouteville in 1484. Note the delicate carving round the doorways on the principal façade.

In the interior, to the left of the usual entrance, there is a famous Madonna and Child by *Jacopo da Sansovino*. The figures are so encumbered with votive offerings that it is impossible to distinguish the sculpture.

In the second chapel of the left aisle there is a group by *Andrea da Sansovino*. Madonna and Child with S. Anne. S. Anne has the marked features and well-defined character common among elderly Italian women. Madonna is conventional and unimpressive. On one of the piers separating the nave from the left aisle *Raphael* painted the prophet Isaiah in the year 1512. The figure is that of a young man swathed in heavy drapery. The scroll is inscribed with Hebrew letters. The picture was restored by Daniele da Volterra.

In the chapel to the left of the choir S. Monica is buried.

In a side entrance opening out of the left aisle there is a relief of the Crucifixion, and statuettes of the four doctors.

S. Maria del Popolo

(is close to the gate of that name. It is on the tram-line which connects the Piazza di Spagna with S. Peter's, and near to the starting-point of the trams which connect the Piazza del Popolo with the Piazza Venezia).

The church lies at the foot of the Pincian, near the spot where the Emperor Nero was buried. According to legend a great walnut tree grew on the grave, and it was tenanted by demons, who haunted the tomb in the shape of crows. In the beginning of the twelfth century Paschal II cut down the tree and built a church. In 1472 Pope Sixtus IV restored the church and built the Augustinian convent, in which Luther lived when he came to Rome. The convent has since been rebuilt by Pius VII. The building became a fashionable place of burial for the great personages connected with the papal court, at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. Sixtus IV, Alexander VI, Julius II, and Agostino Chigi were personally interested in it. Raphael (1483–1520), Pinturicchio (1454–1513),

Mino da Fiesole (1431–84), Andrea Bregno (1421–1506), and Andrea da Sansovino (1460–1529) were employed in its decoration. The church is indeed a record of the time when the revival of learning and the development of art had attained to their full growth. It is a mirror of the thought, the feeling, and the taste of the papal court at its most brilliant epoch.

The exterior makes no claim of any kind to architectural effect. The general impression of the interior is that of a certain chilly correctness. Over the arches of the nave there are statues balanced on the mouldings in something of the manner of those in the nave of S. Peter's. They represent to the right SS. Teresia, Catherine, Pudenziana, Prassede, Ursula, Cecilia, Martina, and Agnes. To the left SS. Clara, Scholastica, Catherine, Barbara, Dorothea, Agatha, Tecla, and Apollonia. The arch over the entrance into the choir is decorated in white and gold, the cardinal virtues appear on the face, and the theological virtues on the under side of the arch.

Beginning at the door with the chapels to the right of the nave.

First chapel. To the left is the tomb of Cardinal Cristoforo della Rovere, by *Andrea Bregno*, with a relief of Madonna and Child and two angels, by *Mino da Fiesole*. To the right, tomb of Cardinal de Castro, who died in 1506. Note the difference in style between the two monuments, the first-named Cardinal having died about 1478. The fresco over the altar is attributed to *Pinturicchio*. It is a characteristically Umbrian Nativity. In the lunettes there are scenes from the life of S. Jerome: The saint teaches; he goes out into the desert; he takes a thorn from the foot of a lion; he works at his translation in the cell at Bethlehem. Funeral for the saint.

Third chapel. To the right: the tomb of Giovanni della Rovere, in civil costume, with a citizen's cap. To the left: the bronze figure of Bishop Foscari. The frescoes have been attributed to *Pinturicchio*, probably incorrectly. Over the altar there is a picture of Madonna

and Child with SS. Augustine and Francis; to the left an Assumption of the Virgin. In the lunettes there are scenes from the life of the Virgin: Nativity, Presentation, Annunciation (?), Sposalizio, and Visitation. On the lower part of the walls there are, in monochrome, the martyrdom of S. Peter, dispute of S. Augustine, martyrdom of S. Catherine, and martyrdom of S. Paul.

Fourth chapel. To the right the tomb of Albertoni. This monument is one of the most simple and charming in the church. Compare the figure, dating from about 1485, with Sansovino's Cardinals in the choir sculptured in 1509. On the left the tomb of Cardinal Costa, to whom we owe the altar and the relief over it. S. Catherine of Alexandria stands between SS. Vincent and Antony. Above is the Annunciation and a medallion showing stags drinking, and the dove of the Holy Spirit. In the lunettes are frescoes of the doctors of the Church attributed to *Pinturicchio*.

Right transept. Tomb of Cardinal Podocatharus. Over the recumbent figure there is a relief of Madonna and Child, with angels. The statuettes at the side symbolize Faith, Hope, Charity, and Justice. On the lower part of the monument there is a Pietà.

The choir contains two tombs, the work of *Andrea Sansovino*. To the left that of Cardinal Girolamo Basso, nephew of Sixtus IV, and to the right that of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. These tombs represent the transition from the purely fifteenth-century Tuscan type, such as the tomb of Cardinal Fortiguerra in Sta. Cecilia, and the fully developed style of the sixteenth century, such as the tombs of the Medici Popes in the choir of S. Maria sopra Minerva. The principal figures reclining on their elbows are the least satisfactory parts of the monuments. The small statues in the niches are favourable examples of sculpture in the first decade of the sixteenth century. The detail of the ornament is exceedingly graceful and refined. The paintings on the roof of the choir are attributed to *Pinturicchio* (1508 or 1509). The centre of the design is the Coronation of the Virgin. Around are ranged the four

evangelists and four sibyls, the Delphican, Erythrean, Persican, and Cimerian. At the corners are the four doctors of the Church.

The sacristy may be entered from the choir. It contains an altar by *Andrea Bregno*, commissioned by Cardinal Borgia (Alexander VI). The centre of the design is Madonna and Child; at the sides are statuettes of SS. Peter, Paul, Jerome, and Augustine. To the right is the tomb of Bishop Ortega Gomiel, and to the left that of Archbishop Rocca of Salerno, with a Crucifixion below.

Returning into the church through the choir, and passing into the **left transept,** note the tomb of Cardinal Bernardino Lonati. Over the figure of the Cardinal is a relief of Christ rising from the tomb. Passing on towards the western door down the left aisle, the third chapel is that of the Chigi family.

Chigi Chapel

The plan of the chapel built for Agostino Chigi is attributed to *Raphael*, and he is said to have directed the work. To the right and the left there are monuments to Agostino and Sigismondo Chigi, in the form of half-pyramids. The chapel is octagonal in form, four of the sides being occupied with statues of the prophets—Jonah, Elias, Daniel, and Habbakuk. The statue of Jonah is said by some to have been modelled by *Raphael*, and executed by an assistant *Lorenzetto*, to whom the Elias is attributed. The classical quality of the head has been generally admired.

It was originally intended that the design of the cupola should be continued on the walls below, by scenes from the early part of Genesis, and the Birth, Death, and Resurrection of Christ. Cartoons for the cupola were made by *Raphael*, and the mosaic was executed by *Luigi di Pace*, a Venetian. The work was not finished till some years after the death of Agostino Chigi, which happened in 1520, and the rest of the design was never carried out. The scheme of the cupola represents the view of mediæval theologians and philosophers. The

Father Eternal appears in the centre as the Prime Mover and Creator. His will is executed by the hierarchies of angels who move the planets, and in this way control the universe.

> "Lo moto e la virtu dei santi giri,
> come dal fabbro l'arte del martello,
> dai beati motor convien che spiri."
> *Paradiso*, ii. 127.

To the spectator's right the design in the cupola represents the first of the heavenly hierarchies, that of the angels. They move the heaven of the moon (represented by Diana), and are the messengers and servants of God's will. The Zodiacal sign is the crab.

The hierarchy of the archangels moves the heaven of Mercury in the next division, the signs of the Zodiac being those of Gemini and Virgo. The archangels are also the executants of God's will, but with a wider understanding than the angels. Passing by the heaven of the fixed stars for the present, the next design has the signs of Taurus and Libra; it is the place of the principalities who move the heaven of Venus.

The division opposite that of the moon is the heaven of the sun, symbolized by Apollo with the sign of Leo. This heaven is moved by the hierarchy of the powers. The heaven of Mars has the signs of Aries and Scorpio. It is moved by the virtues, who, along with the powers, give strength, endurance, and knowledge, to the end of right government. The design immediately over the entrance of the chapel shows the heaven of Jupiter with Pisces and Saggitarius. The dominations, who move this heaven are endued with right discrimination and justice in ruling. The heaven of Saturn, with the signs of Capricornus and Aquarius, is moved by the hierarchy of the thrones, who are perfect in Contemplation. The eighth heaven, opposite that of Jupiter, is the heaven of the fixed stars; this is moved by the cherubim. The heaven of the Empyrean, which is nearest to the divine power, is probably represented within the central design, in which the Father Eternal is surrounded by

seraphim. On the altar front is a relief showing the scene at the well near Samaria.

The last chapel in the left aisle nearest to the western entrance contains the tomb of Cardinal Pallavicini.

The Cappuccini or S. Maria della Concezione

A church built in the seventeenth century near the Piazza Barberini. Over the entrance door is a picture of Giotto's Navicella. It has no claim to be described as a copy of the original.

In the first chapel in the right aisle there is the picture of the archangel S. Michael destroying the dragon, by *Guido Reni*. It is the most pleasing example of the master to be found in Rome. According to tradition, S. Michael is modelled on the face of Beatrice Cenci, and the devil on that of the Cardinal who became Innocent X. In the third chapel of the right aisle *Domenichino* has painted the death of S. Francis. The altar-piece in the first chapel to the left is by *Pietro da Cortona*.

The crypt is entered to the right of the choir. Part of it has been filled with earth from Jerusalem, and here each friar is buried for a certain time. Several arcades are filled with bones arranged in patterns, and in some cases skeletons are clothed in the frock of the order.

CHURCHES IN THE VIA DI SAN SEBASTIANO

S. Balbina

(IS most easily reached from the Via di Porta San Sebastiano. A narrow lane, just before reaching the Baths of Caracalla, leads up to the building, which occupies a commanding situation.)

The church is mentioned in the time of Gregory the Great. It was restored by Leo III, and restored and reconstructed by Cardinal Barbo, the nephew of Paul II, in the fifteenth century.

The episcopal **chair** in the choir is a striking example of the work of the twelfth and thirteenth century Roman mosaicists. The combination of discs of deeply coloured marble with white panels and with bands of richly coloured mosaic, gives a fine character to a design which is, in itself, heavy and monumental.

On the left wall is **the tomb** of Stefano Surdi. It belongs to the period (about 1300) and to the style of the tombs of Cardinal Gonsalvi in S. Maria Maggiore, and that of Bishop Durandus in S. Maria sopra Minerva. All these tombs have been attributed to Giovanni, of the family of *Cosmas*. On the wall to the right there is a relief of the Crucifixion, attributed to *Mino da Fiesole*.

From the little piazza in front of the church there is a lovely view over the Baths of Caracalla to the walls of Aurelius, the Lateran, the Campanile of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, etc.

SS. Nereo ed Achilleo

(is on the Via di Porta San Sebastiano, just beyond the present entrance to the Baths of Caracalla).

CHURCHES IN THE VIA DI SAN SEBASTIANO.

This church is mentioned in the fifth century under the name of Fasciola, a name derived, according to tradition, from the bandage which fell from the feet of S. Peter. A church was built on the spot where the relic was found. Nereo and Achilleo were in the service of Flavia Domitilla, niece of Flavius Clemens, a nephew of the Emperor Domitian. After their martyrdom, the bodies of these servants were buried in the catacomb on the Via Ardeatina, and the date of the first translation of their relics to this church is doubtful. In the thirteenth century the relics were removed to S. Adriano in the forum, and they were brought back by Cardinal Baronius (1538–1607), who restored the church.

The choir is separated from the nave by a fine marble screen, and there is an elaborate Paschal candlestick to the right. The episcopal chair is like that at S. Balbina, a magnificent example of marble mosaic. On it there is engraved part of a homily by Gregory the Great, which Baronius supposed the author to have delivered here.

The most interesting monument in the church is the **mosaic** on the face of the arch over the semidome. It is all that remains of what was originally a much larger design. The work belongs to the Papacy of Leo III (795–816). It represents the Transfiguration. Christ has a cruciform nimbus, and stands in an aureole. By a simple gesture Moses and Elijah, the lawgiver and prophet of the Old Testament, indicate the presence in which law, prophecy, and gospel find their harmony. Beyond this central group the three disciples kneel, covering their hands with their robes, and turning their faces from the brightness of the vision.

To the left of the Transfiguration there is an Annunciation, and to the right Madonna with the Child in her arms is attended by an angel. The subject of the Transfiguration treated on such a monumental scale is rare in early art. There is an example in the Church of S. Catherine at Mount Sinai, and at S. Apollinare in Classe, in a mosaic of the sixth century. The scene is treated in a symbolical manner.

There is an air of quiet repose about this little church. It seeems as if the joys and the hopes and sorrows of generations long since at rest still held their place. There is nothing to suggest the bustle of modern life, and nothing to disturb the meditation of one who would realize the past.

S. Cesareo

(is on the Via di Porta San Sebastiano, at the point where the Via Porta Latina diverges to the left).

This church has been much restored. There is, however, a fine choir screen of red and green marble, with bands of marble mosaic. There is also an episcopal chair with mosaic decoration. The ambo is an unusually good example of the work of the Roman marble-workers. It is built up of discs and panels of finely contrasted colours. The pillars are filled with mosaic, and there is a string course of symbolical sculpture.

S. Giovanni a Porta Latina

(is near to the closed Porta Latina. The road leading to it turns out of the Via di Porta San Sebastiano at the Church of S. Cesareo).

The church is entered through a garden in which there is an interesting well-head, said to date from the time of the Karlings. The church is built on the site of a temple of Diana. Two of the columns still form part of the nave arcade. One of the marble steps to the altar has a finely decorated string course. There is a good campanile.

Close to the above is the little octagonal chapel of **S. Giovanni in Oleo.** It has been built in the style of the Renaissance with an elaborate terra-cotta frieze. Within, there is a series of frescoes describing the sufferings of S. John the Evangelist, and his exile to Patmos. There is a beautiful view from this spot, looking back towards S. Peter's.

CHURCHES, ETC., WITHOUT THE WALLS

St. Paul's without the Walls

(ELECTRIC cars run directly from the Piazza Venezia to the church.)

According to tradition, S. Paul suffered martyrdom on the spot where the monastery of Tre Fontane now stands. His body is said to have been removed thence by a certain Lucina, and buried in her own land, where a memorial chapel was built on the site of the present Church of S. Paul. A grave-stone believed to be of the fourth century has been discovered in the Confession under the high altar, marked with the name "Paulo Apostolo." The memorial chapel was followed by a small basilica in the time of Constantine. This building included the present Confession at one end, and extended a little beyond the limit of the present apse, but no part of the nave or the transepts of the present church occupy the site of the Constantinian foundation.

The basilica on its present scale was begun by Valentinian II in 386. The building was continued under Theodosius, and finished in the time of Honorius.

Alaric spared the church when he took the city in 410, but the building probably suffered in those disturbed times, for under Leo I (440–61) it was restored in a magnificent manner.

The triumphal arch which withstood the fire of 1823 is adorned with mosaics connected with the name of Galla Placidia (*d.* about 450), the daughter of Theodosius, and mother of Valentinian III. The likenesses of the early Popes which decorated the original nave are

supposed to date from the fifth century. Many of these pictures were saved from the fire, and are now in the monastery. The existing pictures in the church are founded on these and on drawings made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In 846 the Saracens landed at the mouth of the Tiber, and sacked both S. Peter's and S. Paul's. The great wealth of the Papacy is evident from the ease with which Leo IV (847–57) was able to replace the costly decoration of both these churches.

S. Paul's was connected with the city gate by a colonnade, and Pope John VIII (872–82), in consequence of war with the Saracens, surrounded the church with fortifications, giving his own name to the place. During the monastic revival of the tenth century the monastery at S. Paul's was reformed under the guidance of Odo of Cluny. In the eleventh century Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII, lived at S. Paul's; in the middle of the thirteenth century Gaetano Orsini, afterwards Nicholas III, was abbot, and Pius VII (1800–23) also lived here as a monk.

The church was burned in the year 1823. It has since been rebuilt on the same plan as the ancient foundation, and a single glance will show that the restoration has been carried out in a large-minded and magnificent fashion.

The nave is an example of the effectiveness of a multiplicity of individual parts, each in itself of the simplest form. The apse is sumptuous, both in scale and in decoration, and the transept is an instance of the value of spacious simplicity. In addition to the fine quality of the design, a great deal of rare and valuable material has been used. Some of it is also exceedingly beautiful.

The modern **tabernacle** over the high altar is the first thing that will strike the visitor. It is notable for its richness of material. Beneath it is the mediæval tabernacle of *Arnolfo* (1285), worthy of the most careful attention as a beautiful example of how the Italian artist applied Gothic ideas. The sculpture on the ex-

terior includes the Fall, God appearing to Adam, the offering of Cain, and the offering of Abel. At the corners are statuettes of SS. Peter and Paul, also perhaps S. Lawrence and a monk. On the inner surfaces of the tabernacle there are a number of animals used as moral emblems. Stags drinking signify the refreshment of the believer's soul. The peacock is a figure of the soul's everlasting existence. The unicorn is an emblem of chastity. The sea beast is a figure of the baptized soul. The eagle with a fish signifies baptism. The cock stands for watchfulness and readiness to combat sin. The crane is a figure of the vigilance of those who guard the flock. The coot or other water bird is probably an emblem of a simple and cleanly life. The whole monument is a charming piece of Gothic sculpture, delicate in form and refined in detail.

Near to the high altar is an extremely elaborate Paschal **candlestick.** It is a twelfth-century example of the work of the Roman marble-masons. Two names are given on the inscription, *Niccolo* the son of *Angelo* and grandson of *Paulus*, and *Peter Bassalectus*, or *Vassalectus*. The Paulus family are known by their work at S. Lorenzo f.l.m. The Vassalectus family made the cloisters of S. John Lateran. The lower part of the candlestick has a circle of human-headed beasts. Above is a circle of vine-scrolls. The sprays spring from the mouths of beasts, and a man clings to the vine. In the next circle soldiers, in chain-mail, bring Christ before Caiaphas. Above this, Pilate washes his hands and Christ is crucified, with Madonna and S. John at the foot of the cross. The thieves appear on small crosses under the arms of the larger cross. In the third circle the Resurrection and Ascension are represented. In the higher part of the candlestick there is foliage with animals on the branches, wreaths of vine-leaves, vine-tendrils, and grapes with birds and animals feeding. The inscription may be rendered, "The tree bears fruits. I, the tree, bear lights. I carry offerings. But on the festival day I announce joyful things—'Christ arose.' Thus, I present such gifts."

Besides the high altar there are two altars in the transept. The one close to the entrance is dedicated in the name of S. Paul, and has statues of Gregory the Great and S. Romualdo to left and right. At the other end of the transept the altar is dedicated in the name of the Virgin, with statues of S. Benedict and Sta. Scholastica to left and right. The chapel of the Crucifix to the left of the apse contains a crucifix attributed to *Cavallini*. A picture of Madonna and Child in mosaic, with an inscription, commemorates the vow made by Loyola in 1541. There is also an ancient wooden statue of S. Paul in this chapel.

The mosaics in S. Paul's cover the semidome with the face of the arch above it, and also the eastern and western sides of the Arch of Triumph. The mosaic of the semidome represents a work of the time of Pope Honorius III (1216–27). It has been renewed since the fire of 1823. Christ is seated on a chair of state, with a gemmed and cruciform nimbus. At His feet kneels Pope Honorius III. To the spectator's left stand SS. Paul and Luke, to the right SS. Peter and Andrew. At each side of the design is a palm tree. Below there are the apostles, not included in the semidome along with S. Mark, each separated from the other by palms, significant of the victory they were to gain in their martyrdoms. In the centre of this band of apostles is the "prepared throne" made ready for judgment. An angel stands on each side. On the face of the arch over the semidome there is in the upper corner to the spectator's left, Madonna and Child, and to the right S. John the Baptist, who lays his hand on a kneeling Pope. Between these are the angel of S. Matthew and the eagle of S. John. On the eastern face of the Arch of Triumph opposite to the designs just described, there is in the centre Christ in blessing with the ox of S. Luke to the left, and the lion of S. Mark to the right. Beside the symbol of S. Luke is S. Paul, and next to the lion of S. Mark, S. Peter.

The western face of the Arch of Triumph has on it a design dating from the time of Leo I (440–61). In the

centre of this mosaic is an unusually large bust of Christ in a circular aureole. He bears a rod in His left hand, and blesses with the right. From the nimbus proceed rays of light, gathered into heavy masses. The face is of the type seen in barbarian art, where incompetent workmen copied Byzantine models without power or understanding. To the right and left of the Christ two small angels bow in adoration, and behind each of them are twelve elders with their crowns. Above their heads are the four symbols of the evangelists. It is difficult to believe that the large bust of Christ, and these groups of elders can belong to the fifth century. The elders are treated with far more art than the similar groups of the ninth century in S. Prassede ; but, on the other hand, the severe asceticism of the Christ, and the feebleness of the groups with crowns, is unlike the usual style of the fifth century. Note, for instance, the angel of S. Matthew, and compare with the figure of the same angel in S. Pudenziana. Beneath the groups of elders there is, to the spectator's left, S. Paul and to the right S. Peter.

The cloisters are reached by a door in the transept, opposite to the ordinary entrance and close to the statue of Sta. Scholastica. In the corridor leading from the church there are remains of frescoes representing the Crucifixion, the twelve apostles, and other saints.

The cloisters were built at the same period (during the thirteenth century), as those at S. John Lateran, at Subiaco, and at Sasso Vivo near Foligno. Among many interesting remains and inscriptions there is a sarcophagus with classical sculpture, in which was buried Pier Leoni, a Jew who accumulated great wealth, and whose son the Antipope Anacletus II (1130) opposed Innocent II.

From the corridor leading between the church and the cloister the visitor can pass through a large hall (in which stands the baptismal font) into the vestibule of the **sacristies.** In it are preserved fragments of ancient mosaics. Note particularly three heads of apostles. There is also a huge statue of Gregory XVI.

In order to see the ancient portraits of the Popes

which are preserved in the monastery, the visitor should inquire in the sacristy. The pictures include a nearly complete series from S. Peter down to Innocent I (401–417). In the corridor of the monastery there is also a fine collection of ancient inscriptions.

The bronze doors are kept in a large press in one of the rooms beyond the sacristy. An official from the works department of the basilica shows them to visitors. In their present state it would be an exaggeration to say that they are beautiful; but as the work of the famous *Staurachios*, and dating as they do from the eleventh century, when Byzantine art had passed through a time of revival and prosperity, they are of interest. The subjects are not arranged with much attention to an orderly sequence, but if the whole design is divided roughly into four parts, the upper part to the spectator's left represents the life of Christ, the lower part to the right is concerned with the prophets; while the upper part to the right hand and the lower part to the left represent the apostles and evangelists and their martyrdoms.

Tre Fontane

The churches and monastery known as Tre Fontane lie about a mile and three-quarter's distance beyond S. Paul's. They are raised up on the spot where S. Paul was beheaded, and where, according to tradition, three fountains sprang up at the three places where the head of the apostle, when separated from the body, touched the ground.

The monastery is inhabited by Trappists, who have cultivated the neighbouring land, and planted Eucalyptus trees, so that the once fever-stricken district is now healthy.

There are three separate centres of interest: (1) S. M Scala Cœli; (2) S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane; (3) SS. Vincenzio ed Anastasio.

On entering the gate of the monastery we turn to the right to **S. M. Scala Cœli**, a bare octagon with a dome, built by *Giacomo della Porta* for Cardinal P. Aldobrandini. The name is derived from the tradition that while S.

Bernard was saying Mass here he saw souls liberated from Purgatory mounting up into heaven.

Underneath the chapel is a crypt where S. Paul is said to have been confined on the night before his martyrdom. A door leads from this crypt into the catacomb of S. Zeno, a soldier who was martyred under Diocletian.

The second church, that of **S. Paolo alle tre Fontane,** is built so as to cover the three fountains already mentioned, and in one corner the pillar on which the decapitation took place is preserved. On the floor is a mosaic of the four seasons, found at Ostia. Excavations made about thirty-five years ago render it probable that a memorial chapel existed from a very early time, and that it was restored under Pope Sergius I in 689. An inscription shows that this building was in existence in the fourteenth century. The present church is of the same date as S. Maria Scala Cœli.

The third church is that of **SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio.** S. Vincent is said to have been a cousin of S. Lawrence, and to have been brought to Rome with him by Pope Sixtus II. He is supposed to have suffered martyrdom on a gridiron at Saragossa. S. Anastasio, a Persian, was converted by the miracles which happened when Chosroes II brought the true cross from Jerusalem. He suffered martyrdom, and after Heraclius had overthrown Chosroes, the head of the saint was sent to the Pope. The church was founded originally by Honorius I. The present edifice was built under Innocent II (1130–43). Innocent's Papacy was a long struggle with the people of Rome, with the Normans, and with an Antipope. It was the powerful mind and the indomitable courage of S. Bernard that carried the Papacy through its troubles at this period, and the friendship of the great Burgundian abbot with the Pope had important results in bringing French influence to bear on Italian art. Cistercian monks were settled at Fossanova, south of Rome, and at Chiaravalle, near Milan, about the year 1135. In 1140 they were established at Casimari and SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio. In this way ideas which were beginning to bear fruit in France were in-

troduced into Italy, and although the art which came from the north of the Alps was never thoroughly naturalized in Italy, its influence produced the change which differentiates the cathedrals of Siena and Orvieto from those of Parma and Modena.

When the Cistercians settled at Tre Fontane, the old forms still prevailed in France, so that the Church of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio is in the Romanesque style, and it is almost a solitary example in Rome and its immediate neighbourhood. The nave is comparatively narrow and the aisles are spacious; they are separated by great square pillars, from which spring heavy round arches. There is hardly a trace of a moulding throughout the building, and yet the stern plainness of form and the lack of all ornament yield a most harmonious effect. The ascetic simplicity of S. Bernard still lingers in every detail. It is indeed a relief to rest for a time in such a place, after a course of the overladen and too often tasteless decoration of the ordinary Roman churches. The entrance is covered by a porch of somewhat the same general character as that at S. Lorenzo f.l.m.

The three churches which have been mentioned, together with the monastic buildings, lie at the foot of some low hills. Nothing can exceed the picturesque beauty of the slopes covered with eucalyptus, of the churches lying below, and of the avenues through the woods which lead to them. If the visitor is fortunate enough to see Tre Fontane at the season when the buildings are covered with purple sprays of wisteria, and the gardens are bright with flowers, he will remember the place as one of the most beautiful he has seen while in Rome.

S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura

(S. Lorenzo is reached by taking any line of car which connects the central parts of the city with the railway terminus. From this latter point a series of electric cars runs to the piazza in front of the church.)

The Church of S. Lorenzo probably originated in a

small chapel in the cemetery of S. Cyriaca. The cemetery is supposed to have been the property of a Christian widow of that name, and S. Lawrence was buried in this place after his martyrdom in 258 A.D.

About the year 330 Constantine (according to tradition) built a church with the apse to the west, now represented by the part of the building east of the steps which lead up to the choir. Sixtus III (432–40) built another church facing the opposite way, with its apse to the east, a building now represented by the nave of the present church. Pope Pelagius II (578–90), at the time of the translation of the body of S. Stephen, made thorough restorations. Honorius III (1216–27) cleared away the two apses, which stood back to back, thus making the Church of Constantine and the Church of Sixtus III into the one church we now see. The vestibule, or portico, resting on fine columns and the mosaic on its cornice, is of the time of Honorius III. The mosaic on the upper part of the facade is modern.

The Confession of the church contains the remains of SS. Stephen and Lawrence and the priest Justin. The following traditions account for their presence. Lawrence was appointed archdeacon by Pope Sixtus II, who was martyred in the year 258 A.D. Lawrence himself suffered three days later.

The common form of the narrative is that Philip, son of the Emperor Philip being in fear of Decius, gave his wealth to Sixtus for the benefit of the church. When the Pope refused to give up the treasure he was cast into prison, having first handed over the goods of the church to Lawrence, his archdeacon, who at once began to give alms, curing the ailments of the poor, and washing their feet. When Sixtus was led to martyrdom Lawrence begged that he might not be separated from him, saying that he had already distributed the wealth that had been given into his care. When the guards heard of the treasure they put Lawrence into prison, under charge of a certain officer named Hippolitus. (S. Lorenzo in Fonte is the traditional site of this prison, and the spring is shown

from which Lawrence drew water to baptize a fellow-prisoner, Lucillus, to whom he restored sight.) Hippolitus also was converted and baptized. In answer to further demand for the treasure of the church, Lawrence called the poor, the blind, and the lame, before Decius. For refusing to sacrifice to the gods, Lawrence was beaten and tortured with hot irons. His constancy under these torments only added to his crime in the eyes of his persecutors, as they regarded it as the result of magical power. He was finally burnt to death on a gridiron, which is preserved at S. Lorenzo in Lucina. The site of the martyrdom is shown at S. Lorenzo in Panisperna. The remains of S. Lawrence were buried in the cemetery of S. Cyriaca, which still surrounds the church.

The story of the translation of the body of S. Stephen is as follows :—

Stephen was buried at Jerusalem in a sepulchre near to the body of Gamaliel. In the year 417 a priest, Lucian, saw a vision in which Gamaliel bade him go to the Bishop of Jerusalem and say that a more honourable place of burial was due to S. Stephen and the others who were buried with him. The bodies were taken to the Church of Sion, in Jerusalem, and in consequence rain was granted to the land, which had been suffering from drought.

After this it happened that a senator and his wife built a place of prayer to S. Stephen, and at his death the senator was buried by the side of the saint. When the widow desired to return to Constantinople she took with her by mistake the body of S. Stephen instead of that of her husband. Devils attacked the ship, but it was saved by an angel, and the body was brought in safety to Constantinople. The scene now shifts to Rome, where Eudoxia, daughter of Theodosius, was tormented by a devil. It was revealed to her that she must touch the relics of S. Stephen, and that they would only be of effect if brought to Rome. It was therefore agreed that the body of S. Stephen should be exchanged for that of S. Lawrence. Cardinals were sent to Constantinople to bring the body of S. Stephen, and Greeks came to Rome

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tomb ; (21) Body carried on a bier to the church ; (22) Perhaps Eudoxia at the foot of the bier ; (23) Attempt to take body of S. Lawrence from the tomb. The Greeks fall down dead ; (24) The tomb sealed up.

The frescoes 25–39 tell the story of S. Lawrence.

(**25**) Pope Sixtus II gives the goods of the Church to the keeping of Lawrence ; (**26**) Lawrence washes the feet of the poor ; (27) Lawrence heals Cyriaca ; (28) Lawrence distributes alms ; (29) Lawrence meets Pope Sixtus on his way to martyrdom, and begs that he may die with him ; (30) Lawrence and his jailer Hippolitus before the Emperor ; (31) Lawrence restores the eyesight of a fellow-prisoner ; (32) Lawrence is beaten with balls ; (33) Lawrence baptizes his jailer ; (34) (?) (35) Refuses to account for the treasure of the church ; (36) Martyrdom of S. Lawrence ; (37) Carried to burial ; (38) Borne on a bier ; (39) Entombment ; (40) Coronation of Peter of Courteney as Emperor, in Constantinople, by Honorius III.

The frescoes to the right (41–8) refer to legends connected with the death of the Emperor Henry II.

(41–4) are of uncertain interpretation. (45) A monk is told by the devils that they are hurrying to the death of the Emperor Henry, in case they might find anything of their own in him. (46) Dead body of the Emperor ; the devils claim the soul. (47) Weighing of the Emperor's good and evil deeds. (48) S. Lawrence throws the cup which the Emperor had given to the church into the scales, and saves his soul.

In the vestibule there is a sarcophagus richly decorated with scenes of the vine-harvest.

At the entrance door there are two lions : the one to the left protects a man, the one to the right has a wild boar between his paws. These figures are symbolical of the protection which the Church gives to the believer, and of her warfare with the principle of evil.

On entering the church we see stretching before us the great **nave**, originally built as a separate church by Sixtus III (432–40).

To the right of the entrance door there is an ancient

sarcophagus in which Cardinal Fieschi, nephew of Innocent IV, was buried. A fresco over the tomb shows Christ seated in the centre with S. Lawrence (who presents Innocent IV) and S. Hippolitus to the left, and S. Stephen (who presents Cardinal Fieschi) and S. Eustace to the right.

To the left of the entrance door there are frescoes giving the story of S. Lawrence. He washes the feet of the poor, clothes them and gives them alms. Below, he is beaten, and administers baptism. In the lowest tier of pictures he suffers martyrdom and is buried.

In the nave there are two ambones. The ambone of the gospel to the right is an elaborate structure, and close to it is a Paschal candlestick. The ambone of the epistle is built of fine marbles, otherwise it is a much simpler monument. At the end of the nave a door to the left leads to the chapel of S. Cyriaca, and to the right is the entrance to the cloister, to which as a rule only men are admitted. An arch of good proportion separates the nave from the raised choir.

Two flights of steps lead from the aisles down into the lower part of the Constantinian church, and in the centre two flights of steps lead to the upper part, which is now the choir. The high altar has a tabernacle over it which bears the names of the marble workers, John, Peter, Angelus, and Tasso, sons of Paul, and the date 1148. It is a fine example of the work of the Roman school of marble masonry while under Romanesque influence. The effect of the **choir** is peculiarly picturesque. Great columns with fine capitals rise from the lower level of the Constantinian church, and on them rests a heavy cornice made up of fragments from older buildings. The gallery above, besides adding to the general effect, is an interesting example of the use of a matroneum or place for women. Other instances occur at SS. Quattro Coronati and S. Agnese f.l.m. At the eastern end of the choir is the Bishop's chair. A marble screen closes this part of the church. From this point the **mosaic** on the face of the arch which separates the choir from the nave can be seen to the best advantage. It is a

work of the time of Pope Pelagius II (577–90). The central figure is that of Christ seated on the globe of the world. He holds in his left hand a cross. His right hand is raised in blessing. To the spectator's left stand SS. Peter and Lawrence with Pope Pelagius II. To the right SS. Paul and Stephen, with S. Hippolitus. All the figures are nimbed except Pope Pelagius. S. Lawrence carries an inscription from Psalm CXII. 9: "He hath dispersed, He hath given to the needy." S. Stephen's inscription is from Psalm LXIII. 8: "My soul followeth hard after Thee." The cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem appear in their usual places. Two windows of ancient form are preserved at the sides of the mosaic.

We now return to the nave and descend by the steps from the right aisle to the lower level of the Constantinian church. On the wall to the right there is an interesting epitaph of Landolphus (a connexion of the celebrated Marozia, the daughter of Theophylactus), who appears to have died a violent death in the beginning of the tenth century. The Confession, in which is contained the urn holding the relics of SS. Lawrence, Stephen, and the priest Justin, is on the level of the lower church. On the wall enclosing it there is preserved the stone on which S. Lawrence suffered.

In the eastern end of the lower church Pope Pius IX was buried. The tomb is simple, according to the wishes of the Pope, but the walls have been covered with mosaics and the coats-of-arms of donors, so that the whole is a highly ornate memorial chapel. If we face the tomb and begin to the left the figures in mosaic represent S. Peter and S. Lawrence. On the end wall SS. Agnes and Cyriaca. On the wall opposite the tomb SS. Francis de Sales and Al Liguori. On the end wall SS. Catherine of Siena, Joseph, and Francis of Assisi. On the wall of the tomb SS. Stephen and Paul.

On returning to the nave, the door of the **cloister** is close to the top of the stairs. Women are not generally admitted. The cloisters date from the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. They have no great pretension to architectural design,

but they contain a number of interesting inscriptions from the catacombs, ancient crosses, with braided sculpture, small reliefs, etc. In spring the garden is very lovely, and all who have the opportunity should visit this most picturesque spot.

The basilica of S. Lawrence can lay no claim to unity of design. The stately columns of the fifth century are not uniform, nor do they correspond with the fluted columns in the eastern end of the church, attributed to the fourth century. The capitals of the latter are Corinthian in type, while those of the nave are Ionic. The Bishop's chair, the ciborium, the two ambones, the screens, and the pavements, are mediæval in design, while the mosaic on the central arch belongs to the end of the sixth century. And yet this patchwork of styles and periods is harmonized into one remarkable whole, having something of classical quality mingled with the picturesqueness due to mediæval feeling. The names of Constantine, Sixtus III, Galla Placidia, Pelagius II, Adrian I, Honorius III, and Pius IX, are all intimately connected with its history. There is indeed hardly any phase of the development of the Catholic Church which is not suggested by some monument within its walls.

S. Agnese

(A line of cars runs directly from S. Sylvestro to S. Agnese. Visitors who start from the Piazza Venezia take the car from Porta Pia and change there into the car for S. Agnese.)

Next to the apostles SS. Peter and Paul, the two saints Lawrence and Agnes were the most popular in Rome. S. Agnes probably suffered in the persecution of Valerian (257–8). Two churches are dedicated in her name. S. Agnese in the Piazza Navona is built on the site of her martyrdom, and S. Agnese f.l.m. is built over her tomb.

At the age of thirteen she became a Christian, and refused an offer of marriage. She withstood all the shameful tortures inflicted on her, and was denounced as a worker of magic, inasmuch as she quenched the fire in which her persecutors tried to burn her. After she

had been killed with a sword she was buried on the Via Nomentana, on the spot where the high altar of S. Agnese f.l.m. now stands. The existing Church of S. Agnese in the Piazza Navona was built on an ancient foundation by *Borromini* in the time of Innocent X (1644–55). It contains the tomb of that Pope. Beneath the church there is a crypt, which is supposed to be the actual scene of the martyrdom.

The original building in the Via Nomentana is said to be due to Constantina, a member of the family of Constantine; it probably received its present general form during the restorations of Pope Symmachus (498–514), or at the time when Pope Honorius I (625–38) caused the mosaic in the semidome to be made. The level of the church is far below that of the Via Nomentana, and a broad flight of steps leads down to it. A number of inscriptions from the neighbouring catacomb have been built into the walls, and among them there is an example of the well-known and beautiful characters designed in the time of Pope Damasus (366–84).

The interior of the church is exceedingly fine. The nave is divided from the aisles by rows of ancient columns, and above the aisles there are open galleries as in the Constantinian part of S. Lorenzo f.l.m., and at SS. Quattro Coronati. The twofold series of pillars and arches give a character of lightness and grace to the whole design. The **mosaic** in the semidome is the most important monument, and it is of unusual type. Three stiff solemn figures look down from the dim background. S. Agnes and the two Popes Symmachus and Honorius take the place usually occupied by Christ and the apostles. Above their heads is the starry firmament, and the Divine Hand. Round about them there is no sign of life. The hieratic spirit has arrested all human emotion; the imperial raiment of the saint and the vestments of the Popes enshrine only abstractions. Yet the stern simplicity of the design leaves an ineffaceable impression. The relics of the saint and those of S. Emerentiana, who helped at her burial, were enclosed in a silver shrine in the early part of the seventeenth century.

The ciborium over the altar was erected by Paul V (1605–21).

The **catacombs** are entered from the left aisle. There are no paintings in this extensive and well-preserved cemetery. Several of the stones which close the graves have trade signs upon them.

S. Costanza

Close to the basilica of S. Agnese there is the round church of S. Costanza. It has been suggested that it was built as a baptistery. It certainly became a mausoleum for Constantia, the daughter of Constantine. The sarcophagus in which she was buried has been taken to the Vatican, and her body now rests under the high altar. In the thirteenth century the church was dedicated in the name of S. Costanza, but it is doubtful whether this was the daughter of Constantine.

The roof is carried on a series of pillars set in couples, and the general effect is decidedly picturesque. Originally the dome was covered with **mosaics.** These have been destroyed, but the waggon vault over the ambulatory which surrounds the circle of the building is still decorated with mosaics assigned to the fourth century. They are considered to be among the earliest Christian examples of the kind.

Except in regard to two niches mentioned below, the mosaics in S. Costanza have little in common with those usual in the semidomes of Roman churches. The mental atmosphere is very different from that which animated the designs in S. Agnese or S. Prassede. Grace, freshness, and freedom of treatment distinguish this early work from fully developed mediævalism. There is also none of that quality of aloofness, of stately austerity, and of elevation of sentiment, which marks the finest achievements of later centuries. There is a great variety of design. Some of the compartments have geometrical figures, others have interlacing patterns, in which the spaces are filled with winged genii, human figures, birds of many kinds, and animals. Some suggest a garden where all kinds of plants are

figured by single branches, where peacocks, pheasants, partridges, and many other kinds of birds, rest and feed. In the centre is a vase from which the birds drink. The most distinctive part of the design is that where the vault is covered with the growth of the vine. At the lower edges men are seen driving bullock waggons full of grapes, while others tread out the vintage. It is usual to attach a Christian and symbolical significance to these scenes. It cannot, however, be said that their appearance gives much justification for the idea.

In the outer wall there are mosaics in two niches, above mentioned, totally different in character from the beautiful and harmonious designs of the vaulting. These rude and barbarous figures have been variously interpreted. Probably the one represents the Father Eternal seated on the globe, giving the Law to Moses, and in the background a grove of palm trees. The other niche shows Christ standing on the mountain whence flow the four rivers. SS. Peter and Paul are at his side, and to Peter He gives the roll of the gospel. Sheep have come from buildings at the side of the picture to feed by the fountain of the four rivers.

S. Urbano alla Caffarella

(The solitary and picturesque church of S. Urbano is reached by a road which branches off from the Via Appia about three-quarters of a mile after passing the chapel of Domine quo vadis. The catacombs of Calixtus and the church of S. Sebastiano lie to the west, and may be reached in fifteen minutes.)

The building of S. Urbano was originally a temple, said to have been dedicated to Ceres. It was transformed into a church in early Christian times, but the fine cornice and the four fluted Corinthian columns which have been walled up to form the vestibule, still bear witness to its ancient form. Close to the church is a beautiful clump of ilex trees, known as the Bosco Sacro or Sacred Grove, and a fountain is shown beside the stream of the Caffarella, called the Grotto of Egeria, which is supposed to be the Nymphæum of

the Sacred Grove. The church is noted for its ancient frescoes, now in very bad condition, but apart from the interest these may afford, no one will regret the drive to one of the most charming spots in the neighbourhood of Rome. The situation commands a wide view over the Campagna. To the north are the walls and domes of the city, to the south and east lie the circle of hills which bound the great plain that surrounds Rome.

The frescoes in the church form two complete series, the one representing the Incarnation and Passion of Christ; the other (the story of Sta. Cecilia) is notable as one of the rare examples now existing of the life of a saint painted on the walls of a Roman church.

The early date assigned to the work has given these frescoes some importance in the unravelling of the history of Italian art. The pictures, however, have been so much destroyed and restored that the archæological interest and the light they throw on the life of the Roman Church in the third century is of more significance than their artistic quality.

Next to the apostles SS. Peter and Paul, S. Cecilia and S. Agnes share with S. Lawrence and S. Sebastian the place of honour in the long list of Roman martyrs. Shrouded as their lives are in mediæval legend it is difficult to know what we owe to more or less trustworthy tradition and what is due to the pious imagination of credulous ages. It is possible, nevertheless, to see through the mist of centuries something of the power which enabled the insignificant disciples of an obscure creed to overthrow the religion of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, so that when the system of the ancient world was no longer able to vitalize mankind, the Church could inspire the highest spiritual natures and the most brilliant intellects of the time with new life and new vigour.

The frescoes have been dated, according to an inscription under the Crucifixion, in the year 1011. It is possible that some part of the work may date from the eleventh century, but there are evidences of several different styles and much restoration, and

probably most of what we see to-day is of much later date.

We begin with the frescoes relating to the life of Christ. Over the altar there is a large figure of Christ with cruciform nimbus, attended by SS. Peter and Paul.

The scenes from the life of Christ begin with the Annunciation (**A on plan xxiv**), and the Nativity (**B**). The Annunciation is painted in the simplest way. The archangel Gabriel has the rod of power, the Spirit descends from heaven upon Madonna in rays of light; the usual division between the archangel and Mary is wanting. In the Nativity the angels bend towards the Infant, upon whom rays descend. Madonna lies on the usual Byzantine convention for a bed; the Child is bathed by two women; but in nothing else does the fresco resemble the Greek manner. (**C**) The Annunciation to the Shepherds. In the lower left-hand corner the flocks are seen in the fold; in the centre is a thatched hut; to the right the shepherds who see the angel in the heavens make music, and dance, and express wonder and amazement at the marvellous vision. The scene is painted with freshness and naïveté, and with a childlike pleasure in simple details. Beneath this fresco an angel appears to Joseph. (**D**) The three Magi see the star in heaven. (**E**) There is the same abandon here as in the fresco of the shepherds. There is none of the atmosphere of divine mystery which a Byzantine artist would have given to it. The fresco below (**F**) shows the Flight into Egypt. Madonna is charmingly simple. In the Adoration of the Magi (**G** on the plan) she has been painted by a heavier hand. The Child sits, unnimbed and nude, on her knee. Melchior, a wild ecstatic figure, kneels. The two younger kings, in the same dress as in the picture where they see the star, stand holding their presents in their hands, which are reverently covered with their cloaks. The angel is supported or surrounded by clouds of the most simple convention. The picture of the Massacre of the Innocents is almost entirely defaced (**H**). Passing by the pictures on the wall of entrance, the next fresco in the order of time on the opposite

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is the Washing of the Feet, and at V the Last Supper. Christ sits at the head of a long table, at which nine apostles are gathered. Judas grovels on the ground, stretching out a hand towards Christ.

We next turn to the entrance wall, not shown on the plan. In the centre is a picture of the Crucifixion. The scenes of the "Kiss of Judas," "Pilate washing his hands," the "Flagellation," and the "Bearing of the Cross," are painted to the right of the "Crucifixion"; and the "Entombment," the "Marys at the Tomb," the "Going down into Hades," and probably the "Noli me tangere," to the left. The date 1011 appears on an inscription, and the "Crucifixion" has been attributed to this period. It is possible that the subject may have been painted in this place in the eleventh century, but it is not likely that the existing picture is of that time. The design does not depend on the Byzantine and Karling tradition, in which the victory over sin and death is the paramount idea, and where the birth of the Church is contrasted with the overthrow of the synagogue. The tone is more nearly allied to the feeling and ideas of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Christ is stretched on the cross, His head bears the crown of thorns, and the eyes are closed; the feet are supported by the board known as the "suppedaneum." A man and woman, sometimes supposed to stand for Adam and Eve, but more probably figures of humanity in general, gather the blood as it flows from the feet. Calpurnius is named as the sponge-bearer, Longinus is the soldier with the lance. The thieves are crucified at the sides of the Cross, and the contracted inscription "INRI" appears.

The story of Sta. Cecilia is painted in the frescoes **Nos. 4 to 14** on the plan. The parents of Cecilia brought her up as a Christian, and by their wish she was married to Valerian, who adhered to the old faith. Cecilia had consecrated herself to a life of virginity, and she warned her husband that if he would not respect her vow he would be slain by an angel (4). She bade him go to S. Urban, the Bishop who was in hiding in the catacombs. In the upper part of the fresco (5) Cecilia

sends Valerian away. There appears to him the vision of an angel as an old man clad in white, bearing a scroll. Valerian falls to the ground, and is raised up by Urban, who baptizes him. On the return of Valerian to Rome, Tiburtius, his brother, is converted by the husband and wife, and baptized by Urban (6). When it was known that Valerian and Tiburtius buried the martyrs and gave their goods to the poor, Almachius called them before him (7). They were bidden to sacrifice to Jupiter, and when they refused they were given over to Maximus to be beheaded (8). Passing by the large figure of Christ, the next fresco (9) shows Urban in prison. Anolinus, who had him in charge, having listened to his preaching, was converted, and on refusing to sacrifice to idols he was beheaded. The fresco marked (10) on the plan is of uncertain interpretation.

When Almachius heard that Maximus was converted he caused the latter to be beaten to death, and Cecilia buried him beside Valerian and Tiburtius. Then Almachius called Cecilia before him. This is perhaps represented in No. 11. She spoke so that the bystanders were converted, and Urban baptized four hundred of them. Cecilia only answered Almachius by denial and with defiance, and he ordered her to be put in a boiling bath. To her it was only cool and refreshing, and they therefore tried to behead her. This is probably the subject of the fresco 13 on the plan. The swordsman failed in three strokes, and might not give a fourth, so she was left half dead, and for three days she taught the people, and gave her goods to the poor (12 on plan). When Cecilia died, Pope Urban buried her (14 on the plan), and her house was consecrated as a church. The frescoes marked 1, 2, and 3 on the plan probably refer to the story of S. Lawrence.

It will be readily understood by any one who sees the frescoes that their interpretation is difficult. The above attributions have no claim to be more than suggestions. In the crypt below the church there is a painting of the rudest description. Madonna is seated with the Child on her knee. To her right stands S. Urban, to her

left S. John. The art is so rudimentary that it would be superfluous to assign it to any style or period.

Villa Madama

(The Villa Madama, standing on the side of Monte Mario, is open to visitors on Saturday. It may be reached in about a quarter of an hour by walking from the end of the tram-line at the Ponte Molle; it is also about one and a half mile from the tram-line which passes through the district of the Prati di Castello near S. Peter's.)

It was built for Cardinal Giulio dei Medici, afterwards Pope Clement VII. *Raphael* was concerned in the plan of the building, *Giulio Romano* and *Giovanni da Udine* in its decoration. It was the last great pleasure-house of the Renaissance in Rome, built before the sack of the city, and before Spanish ascendancy had destroyed the blithesome and gracious life natural to the Italian spirits nurtured on Greek art and philosophy. The building was never finished according to the complete plan, but in 1537 Margaret, daughter of Charles V, widow of Alessandro dei Medici, and about to be the bride of Ottavio Farnese, came to live here, and gave it its name. The building is untenanted. Weather has damaged the decoration, and there is a general air of neglect and decay. Nevertheless, it is a fine example of the amplitude and the refinement of the Italian culture, which was so near its doom, when this villa was designed.

These deserted chambers impose the idea of space rather than the limitations of human dwelling. Nor is it mere size that impresses. There is a significant harmony, a restrained and fastidious luxuriance, an ornate refinement in the midst of desolation.

The time-stained palace and its forlorn surroundings form a fitting symbol of the brilliant civilization of the Cinque Cento and of its untimely downfall.

The great loggia is now closed in by doors and windows. Its vaults and walls were painted by *Giulio Romano*, while the marvellous arabesques, and the delicate work in gesso and gold, are attributed to *Giovanni da Udine*.

In the central cupola the elements are figured by Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, and Pluto, and the seasons are symbolized by genii, with the flowers of spring and summer abundance, while Bacchus and Vulcan stand for autumn and winter. In the Grand Sala there is a fine frieze. On the roof the sun and moon are represented by Jove driving horses and Diana driving bulls.

The view from the esplanade is very fine. Rome lies to the right. At the foot of the steep hill on which the traveller stands flows the Tiber. Stretching away beyond is the wide expanse of the Campagna, framed in the circle of the Alban hills and the mountains of the Sabine country.

IV

THE PICTURE GALLERIES

ROMAN picture galleries do not represent any local development of method, and they have none of the interest attaching to such collections as may be found in the galleries of Milan, Perugia, or Siena, where the characteristics of Lombard, Tuscan, and Umbrian find their artistic expression in local schools.

Roman galleries do, however, contain a few famous pictures associated with great names. For example, at the Villa Borghese there are paintings such as the "Danae" of Corregio, "Sacred and Profane Love" by Titian, and the "Entombment" by Raphael. In the Doria Pamphili Palace there is the portrait of Innocent X by Velasquez. In the Vatican Gallery there is the "Madonna di Foligno" of Raphael, the "Communion of S. Jerome" by Domenichino, and the "Transfiguration" by Raphael. In the Casino of the Rospigliosi Palace there is the "Aurora" of Guido Reni, and there is another "Aurora" by Guercino in the Casino in the Via Ludovisi. None of these works are proper to Rome. They reflect neither the emotions, nor the thoughts, nor the capacities of the Roman people. With the exception of those in the Vatican Gallery, the pictures consist largely of the work of the Italian successors of Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Correggio, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, together with a number of Dutch paintings. A list of these later Italian painters connected with Roman galleries is annexed.

The last column contains the name of the teacher or the employer under whom the artist worked, or of the school to which he belonged. These attributions, however, involve questions of criticism that still remain unsettled, and they have no claim to be considered as anything more than suggestions.

THE ITALIAN SUCCESSORS OF THE PAINTERS OF MURANO, THE BELLINI, MICHAEL ANGELO, RAPHAEL, AND CORREGGIO, WHOSE PICTURES APPEAR IN ROMAN GALLERIES.

Artist.	Approximate dates.	Place of birth.	Master or school influencing the artist.
Domenico Puligo	1475–1527	Florence	Andrea del Sarto
Lorenzo Lotto	1476–1555	Treviso	Venetian
Dosso Dossi	1479–1542	Nr. Mantua	Ferrara
Andrea Sabbatini	1480?–1545?	Salerno?	
Pellegrino da Modena	1483–1521	..	Raphael
Baldassare Perruzzi	1481–1536	Siena	Sodoma and Raphael
Garofalo	1481–1559	Ferrara	Lor·Costa and Dosso Dossi
Mazzolino	1481?–1528?	Ferrara	
Sebastiano del Piombo	1485–1547	..	Geov. Bellini, Giorgione, Michael Angelo
Giovanni da Udine	1487–1564	Udine	Worked under Raphael
Cesare da Sesto	..	Milan	Leonardo
Francesco Penni	1488–1528	Florence	Raphael
Palmezzano	1490–1530	Forli	
Raffaello dal Colle	1490–1540	Borgo S Sepolcro	Raphael
Giulio Romano	1492–1546	Rome	Raphael
Vincenzo dei Tamagini	1492–1529	S. Gimignano	
Innocenzo da Imola	1494–1550	..	Bologna
Polidoro Caravaggio	1495–1543	Caravaggio	Raphael
Perino del Vaga	1499–1547	Florence	Raphael
Paris Bordone	1500–1570	Treviso	Venetian
Girolamo da Carpi	1501–1568?	Ferrara	Dosso Dossi and Garofalo
Bronzino	1502–1572	Nr. Florence	Pontormo
Marco Meloni da Carpi	1504–1537	..	Bologna
Parmigiannio	1503–1540	..	Correggio
Daniele da Volterra	1509–1566	..	Michael Angelo
Marcello Venusti	1515–1576	Como	Michael Angelo
Pellegrino Tebaldi	1527–1596	Bologna	Michael Angelo
Luca Cambiasi	1527–1585	Genoa	
Baroccio	1528–1612	Urbino	Correggio

Artist.	Approximate dates.	Place of birth.	Master or school influencing the artist.
Girolamo Muziano	1528–1590	Brescia	Michael Angelo and Romanino
Taddeo Zucchero	1529–1569	S. Angelo in Vado	
Battista Zelotto	1532–1592	Verona	P. Veronese
Lorenzo Sabbatini	1533?–1577	Bologna	Bologna
Federigo Zucchero	1543–1609	S. Angelo in Vado	
Scarsellino	1551–1621	Ferrara	Bassano
Scipione Pulzone	1550–1588	Gaeta	
Cristoforo Roncalli Pomerancio	1552–1626	Nr. Volterra	Baroccio
Ludovico Carracci	1555–1619	Bologna	Correggio
Antonio Tempesti	1556–1603	Florentine	Santi di Tito
Agostino Carracci	1558–1602	Bologna	Correggio
Cigoli	1559–1613	Empoli	Baroccio
Annibale Carracci	1560–1609	Bologna	Correggio
Cav. Arpino	1560–70–1640	Rome	
Francesco Vanni	1565–1609	Siena	
Caravaggio	1569–1609	Caravaggio	Worked with Arpino
Guido Reni	1575–1642	Bologna	The Carracci
Lionello Spada	1576–1622	Bologna	The Carracci
Francesco Albani	1578–1660	Bologna	The Carracci
Domenichino	1581–1641	Bologna	The Carracci
Lanfranco	1581–1647	Bologna	The Carracci
Ribera (Lo Spagnoletto)	1588–1656	Spaniard	Caravaggio
Domenico Feti	1589–1624	Rome	Cigoli
Guercino	1590–1666	Nr. Bologna	The Carracci
Pietro da Cortona	1596–1669	Cortona	Caravaggio
Andrea Sacchi	1598–1661	Rome	
Sassoferrato	1605–1685	Sassoferrato	Domenichino
Pier Francesco Mola	1612–21–1665?	Provence of Bologna	Arpino and Albani
Salvator Rosa	1615–1673	Naples	Spagnoletto
Carlo Dolce	1616–1686	Florence	Matteo Rosselli
Carlo Maralla	1625–1713	Ancona	
Luca Giordano	1632–1705	Naples	Spagnoletto

The Villa Borghese

(is situated in one of the most beautiful parks surrounding the city. It is about half an hour's walk from the Porta del Popolo. The Villa contains a fine collection of ancient sculpture on the ground floor, and a gallery of pictures above. Admission 1 fr. Hours, 10 to 4).

The Villa Borghese was built by Cardinal Scipio Borghese. He was a great collector of pictures, and the gallery owes its origin to him. Many of the pictures were sold to the French in the time of Napoleon, but

others have been added since. The Villa and its contents are now the property of the Government.

The first room on reaching the top of the stairs contains the following pictures, among many others: To the left of the door, Madonna and Child, by *Cesare Tamaroccio.*

Passing along the wall to the right. (65) S. Stephen, attributed to *Francia.* (61) Madonna and Child, *Francia.* (60A) Holy Family and S. Catherine, attributed to *Jacopo Boateri.* (55) Sibilla Cumana, by *Domenichino.*

Room II. Turn to the right. (97) Portrait of a man with a glove, attributed doubtfully to *Moroni.* (94) Portrait of Cosimo dei Medici, school of *Bronzino.* (92) Venus, by *Baldassare Peruzzi.* (86) Portrait of a youth, attributed to *Parmigianino.*

Room III. On the left wall. (156) Christ and the Family of Zebedee, by *Bonifazio II* (*d.* 1553). (157) Holy Family; Venetian school, probably a copy from an original, by *Lorenzo Lotto.* (119) Venus, Cupid, and a Satyr, by *Paris Bordone.* (125) Danae, by *Correggio.* (137) Preaching of S. John the Baptist, by *Paul Veronese.*

Room IV. Turning to the left. (143) Portrait of a Woman, Venetian School. (147) Sacred and Profane Love, by *Titian.* (149) Woman taken in Adultery, *Bonifazio II.* (163) Madonna and Child with Saint, *Palma Vecchio.* (164) Madonna and Child with S. Peter, by *Cariani.* (170) Venus and Cupid, by *Titian.* (176) Virgin and Child, school of Bellini. (185) Portrait of a man, by *Lorenzo Lotto.* (186) Return of the Prodigal, by *Bonifazio II.* (188) S. Dominic, by *Titian.* (193) Madonna and Child, by *Lorenzo Lotto.*

Room V contains a collection of small panels, most of them painted by *Garofolo* and *Mazzolino.* (204) Supper at Cana. (208) Madonna and Child with saints. (210) Madonna and Child, all by *Garofolo.* (211) Madonna and Child, by *Dosso Dossi.* (213) Madonna and Child with SS. Peter and Paul, *Garofolo.* (218) Adoration of Magi, by *Mazzolini.* (240) Madonna and Child with saints, and (246) Conversion of S. Paul, both by *Garofolo.*

Room VI. Turning to the right. (281) Portrait of Charles V, attributed to *Striegel.* (274) Visitation of S. Elizabeth, by *Rubens.*

Room VII. (294), (300), (303) studies, school of Raphael. (305) Madonna and Child, school of Fra Bartolommeo.

Room VIII. (310) Holy Family, by *Fra Bartolommeo* and *Albertinelli.* (324) Venus and Cupids, by *Franciabigio.* (326) Venus, by *Cranach.* (331) Madonna and Child, copy after Andrea del Sarto. (334) Madonna and Child, by *Andrea del Sarto.* (336) Madonna and Child, by *Bugiardini.* (346) The Three Ages of Man, by *Sassoferrato.* (347) Conversion of S. Paul, by *Garofolo.* (348) Madonna and Child, school of Botticelli. (352) Nativity, Florentine school (sec. XV).

Room IX. (367) Virgin and Child, school of Perugino. (369) Entombment, by *Raphael.* (371) Maddalena Strozzi, painted as S. Catherine. (377) Crucifixion, *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.* (396) Portrait by *Antonia da Messina.* (397) Portrait by *Perugino.* (399) Portrait, school of Perugino. (401) Madonna and Child, school of Perugino. Madonna and Child, attributed to *Simone Martini.* (408) Portrait of Cardinal Marcello Ceromi, afterwards Marcellus II, by *Pontormo.* (411) Entombment, by *Vandyck.* (416) Portrait of a woman, by *Innocenzo du Imola.*

Room X. (424) Madonna and Child, copy after *Raphael.* (429) S. Agatha, school of Luini. (433) Madonna and Child with S. John, by *Lorenzo di Credi.* (439) Adoration of the Child, school of Verrocchio. (459) Madonna and Child with S. Joseph, by *Sodoma.*

Corsini Gallery

The Palazzo Corsini is in the Via della Lungara, close to the Villa Farnesina. It is devoted to the Accademia dei Lincei and to a collection of pictures belonging to the Government. The Palace was inhabited by Queen Christina of Sweden, and in the eighteenth century it became the property of Cardinal Corsini, nephew of Clement XII. The pictures collected by him form the

nucleus of the present gallery. In 1883 the Palace and its collection was sold to the Government. Since then, pictures have been added from various galleries, such as those of the Torlonia, Odescalchi, and Barberini families.

Room I contains some interesting topographical sketches of Rome in the seventeenth century.

Room II. Turn to the left. (303) and (308) Two drawings of the Piazza San Marco, by *Canaletto.* (190) Herodias with the head of S. John Baptist, by *Simon Vouet.* (3725) Portrait of Bernini, by *Boccioccia.* (241) S. Apollonia. (229) Magdalen. (243) S. Agnes, all by *Carlo Dolci.* (729) Portrait of his daughter, by *Carlo Maratta.* (245) and (294) "Ecce Homo," by *Guido Reni.* (309) Grand Canal, and (304) the Rialto, by *Canaletto.*

Room III. (186) "Un Operaio," by *Ribera.* (244) Christ among the Doctors, by *Luca Giordano.* (437) "La Pittura e la Scultura," by *Guercino.* (730) "Ecce Homo," by *Guercino.* (191) *Murillo,* Madonna and Child. (428) "Suonatore," by *Agostino Caracci.* (1094) S. Girolamo, by *Guercino.* (732) "La Madonna del Velo," *Carlo Dolci.*

Room IV. (499) Supper at Emmaus, by *Rembrandt.* (445) "Caserma," by *Teniers.* (478) "La Carita Romana," by *Ferdinand Bol.* On screens in the centre of the room. (764) Portrait of a lady, by *Thomas de Keijsaer.* (767) Portrait, by *Paul Moreelse.* (762) Portrait, by *Cornelius Vespronck.* (766) Portrait of a lady with a ruff, by *Cornelius Vespronck.*

Room V. (292) Portrait of a young man, by *Paul Moreelse.* (765) Portrait, by *Jacob Moreelse.* (517), (520), (523) Portraits, by *Carbone.* (223) Christ Crowned with Thorns, by *Vandyck* (?). (338) Hunting scene. (225) S. Sebastian. (483) and (222) Studies of heads, all by *Rubens.* (220) Madonna and Child, by *Vandyck.* (228) Portrait, by *Susterman.*

Room VI. (2171) Portrait of Stefano Colonna, by *Bronzino.* (632) Portrait, by *Dosso Dossi.* (524) Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione, school of Sebastina del Piombo. (615) Portrait of Philip II of Spain,

school of Titian. (584) Copy of Raphael's Leo X, said to be by *Bugiardini*.

Room VII. (631) Portrait, Venetian school. (659) Madonna and Child with saints, Venetian school. (623) Woman taken in Adultery, by *Rocco Marconi*. (656) Two saints, by *Marco Meloni da Carpi*. (627) Christ bearing the Cross, *Garafolo*. (644) Pietà of the Ferrarese school (?). (640) Holy Family, by *Innocenzo da Imola*. (574) Portrait, by *Bronzino*. (579) Holy Family, by *Fra Bartolommeo*. (580) Madonna and Child, by *Bugiardini*. (610) Portrait, by *Bartolommeo Veneto*.

Room VIII. (710) Coronation of the Virgin, Bolognese (sec. XV). (708) Madonna and Child, with saints, *Nicolo da Foligno*. (713) Madonna and Child, *Lorenzo di Credi*. (709) Madonna and Child, *Lorenzo da San Severino*. (705) Crucifixion, school of Siena (sec. XV). (2371) Madonna and Child, with saints, by *Antoniazzo Romana*. (712) S. George and the Dragon, attributed to *Francia* (?). (2370) Agony in the Garden, by *Francesco Bianchi*. (714) Madonna and Child, school of Perugino. (3570) Scenes from the life of Christ, Florentine (sec. XIV). (723) Last Judgment, with Ascension and Descent of the Holy Spirit, *Fra Angelico*. (700) Coronation of the Virgin, Florentine (sec. XIV). (704) Madonna and saints, Florentine (sec. XIV). (695) Scenes from the life of Christ, attributed to *Giovanni da Milano*. (702) Triptych, Florentine (sec. XV). On screen in the centre of the room. (3724) S. George and the Dragon, attributed to *Giorgione*.

Small room opening out of Room VIII. (752) Portrait, by the "Master of the Death of Mary." (750) Portrait of Henry VIII, after *Holbein*. (751) Deposition, in the manner of *Marten van Heemskerck*.

Room IX. Engravings, lithographs, etc., including fine collections of works by Mantegna, Dürer, Raimondi, Rembrandt, and Bartolozzi. There are also drawings by Leonardo da Vinci, Lippi, Ghirlandajo, Piero di Cosimo, Bugiardini, Fra Bartolommeo, Sebastiano del Piombo, Pontormo, Luca Signorelli, P. Veronese, Palma Vecchio, and Tintoretto.

Picture Gallery in the Palace of the Conservatori

(entered from the Piazza del Campidoglio). The Palace contains a fine collection of ancient sculpture, bronzes, etc., and besides these there is a picture gallery in the upper part of the building.

In the first room there are a number of small pictures by members of the Caracci family and their school. There are also some sketches of Rome, showing the city before modern alterations affected it. Out of this room three small ones open to the left.

(A) Portrait, by Moroni. Two small landscapes, by Claude Lorraine. Several portraits by Vandyck. A man with a gun, painted by Lorenzo Lotto. Portraits of Michael Angelo and Velasquez, supposed to be painted by themselves. And pictures of S. Sebastian, painted by M. Caravaggio and Guido Reni.

(B) S. Mary Magdalen, by *Tintoretto* (?), and another by *Guido Reni*. The Rape of Europa, by *Veronese*. And Cleopatra, by *Guercino*.

(C) Madonna and Child, by *Lorenzo di Credi*. Madonna and Child, by *Francia*. Madonna and Child, by the school of Boticelli. Trinity, with kneeling donors (sec. XIV). Death and Assumption of the Virgin, by *Cola dell' Amatrice*. Supposed portrait of Petrarch, perhaps by *Giovanni Bellini*. And a number of small pictures, by *Garofolo* and *Mazzolino*.

Returning to the small entrance room, there is in a line with it a large hall. Turn to the left. Portrait of Urban VIII, by *Pietro da Cortona*. Woman taken in Adultery, by *Palma Vecchio*. Holy Family, by *Catena*. Entombment of S. Petronilla, by *Guercino*, etc.

Another large hall opens to the right of the entrance room. Turn to the left. Judith with the head of Holofernes, by *Giulio Romano*. Frescoes by *Annibale Caracci*. S. John the Baptist, by *Daniele da Volterra*, and frescoes by *Giovanni Spagna*.

The Doria-Pamphili Gallery

(is entered from the Piazza Collegio Romano. The

admission is from ten to two on Tuesdays and Fridays).

In the Primo Braccio visitors will find it interesting to study a seventeenth-century rendering of the life of Christ, with the treatment of the same subjects in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The pictures are by *Annibale Caracci*, and include the following: (74) The Nativity; (78) Assumption of the Virgin; (80) Flight into Egypt; (84) Adoration of the Magi; (86) The Entombment; (90) The Visitation of S. Elizabeth.

A cabinet opens from the Primo Braccio, in which is shown the portrait of the Pamphili Pope Innocent X, painted by *Velasquez*. This is one of the most remarkable pictures in the private galleries in Rome. It should on no account be overlooked.

Pass through the Secondo Braccio and enter the Terza Sala. (121) Circumcision, by *Bissolo*. (125) Madonna and Child, by *Boccaccino*. Unnumbered, S. Christopher with the Child and S. John Baptist; Triptych: Madonna and Child with SS. Peter and Antony the Abbot to the left, SS. John the Baptist and Matthew to the right. (132) Nativity of the Virgin, by *Stefano di Giovanni*. (134) The Sposalizio, by *Stefano di Giovanni*.

Quarta Sala. Turn to the left. (142) Madonna and Child, with S. John, by *Andrea del Sarto*. (153) Giovanni d'Aragona, copy after Raphael. (161) Visitation, by *Garofolo*. (165) Holy Family, by *Ortolano*. (170) Portrait of Girolamo Beltramoti, by *Dosso Dossi*. (171) Portrait of Niccolo Macchiavelli.

Quinta Sala. (173) Taxgatherers, by *Quentin Matsys*. (189) Portrait, by *Vandyck*. (192) Portrait, by *Agata van Schoenhoven*. (193) "Two Hypocrites," by *Quintin Matsys*. (194) S. Mary Magdalen reading, perhaps by the "Master of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows." (202) Portrait of a youth, by *Sustermans*. (203) Portrait, attributed to Rubens. (199), (205), and (211) Portraits, school of Vandyck.

Sesta Sala. Turn to the left. (215) Village Feast, by *Teniers*. (218) Interior, by *Teniers*. (231) Portrait of

a Franciscan, by *Rubens.* (249) Portrait, by *Rubens.* (243), (244), (248), (250), and (254) Studies, by *Gerard Honthorst.*

Cabinet. (266) and (267) Interesting sketches of the Campo Vaccino.

Return to the Terza Braccio. (277) Venus and Cupid, *Paris Bordone.* (279) Adoration of the Shepherds, and (281) Madonna and Child, by *Parmigianino.* (282) Flight into Egypt, by *Gaspar Poussin.* (290) S. Jerome, by *Lorenzo Lotto.* (296) Portrait, by *Rembrandt.*

A large room opens out of the Terza Braccio. It contains some interesting pieces of sculpture, four sarcophagi, and a collection of antiquities.

Quarto Braccio. (382) Holy Family, by *Titian.* (386) Portrait, attributed to Titian. (387) Victory of Virtue over Vice, by *Correggio.* (388) Salome and the head of S. John the Baptist, attributed to *Titian.* (401) Portrait, by *Bonifazio.* (403) Portraits of Beazzano and Navagero. This has been supposed to be a copy of a lost picture by *Raphael.* (408) Portrait of Donna Olimpia, Maidalchini Pamphili. (410) "The Concert," an old copy of the picture in the Pitti gallery at Florence.

The Gallery in the Palazzo Colonna

(is entered from 17 Via della Pilotta). The first room contains a number of family portraits, also (12) a Holy Family, ascribed to Titian, but probably painted by *Bonifazio.* (15) Holy Family, by *Palma Vecchio.*

The grand hall contains (30) Benedictine Monks, by *Tintoretto.* (35) Carlo Colonna, by school of Vandyck. (38) A Spanish Family, by *Scipio Pulzone.* (39) Madonna, by *Niccolo da Foligno.* (46) Assumption, by *Rubens.* (47) Portraits, by *Annibale Caracci.*

Room III (60) Palace of the Cæsars, by *Claude Lorraine.*

Room IV. (90) Portrait, by *P. Veronese.* (94) and (95) Portraits, by *Tintoretto.* (107) Supposed portrait of Onofrio Panvinio, by *Titian.* (109) Portrait of Poggio Bracciolini, by *Girolamo da Treviso.* (113) Portrait, by *Tintoretto.* (118) Portrait of Lorenzo Colonna, brother

of Martin V, ascribed to *Holbein*, probably without authority.

Room VI. (120) The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, and (123) the Seven Joys of the Virgin, wrongly attributed to *Van Eyck*. (130) Madonna and Angels, by *Gentile da Fabriano*. (132) Madonna and Child with S. John, by *Giulio Romano*. (133) S. James, by *Melozzo da Forli* (134) Crucifixion, by *Jacopo degli Avanzi*. (135) Portrait of a child, by *Giovanni Santi*. (138) Holy Family, by *Luini*.

The Casino of the Rospigliosi Palace

(is entered from the Via del Quirinale). In the principal hall there is on the roof the "Aurora" of *Guido Reni*.

In the room to the right the most notable pictures are: Madonna and Child (sec. XV). Fall of Adam, by *Domenichino*. Death of Sampson, by *Ludovico Caracci*. Chastity driving away Venus, by *Lorenzo Lotto*.

In the room to the left. Andromeda, by *Guido Reni*. Triumph of David, by *Domenichino*.

Barberini Gallery

(in the Palazzo Barberini, built by Urban VIII. Enter from the Via delle Quattro Fontane).

Room I. Portrait bust of Urban VIII.

Room II. (65) S. Andrea Corsini, by *Guido Reni*. (34) Portrait of the wife of Pietro Strozzi. (45) Child Jesus asleep, by *Guido Reni*. (64) Portrait of his daughter, by *Mengs*. (63) Madonna and Child, by *Annibale Caracci*.

Room III. (71) Marriage of S. Catherine, by *Innocenza da Imola*. (72) Madonna and Child, by *Francia*. (75) Nativity, by *Ghirlandajo*. (79) Christ among the Doctors, by Dürer. (85) "Formarina," attributed on insufficient grounds to Raphael. (90) Madonna and Child, by *Rondinello*. (108) Madonna and Child, by *Andrea del Sarto*.

Room IV. Portrait, usually described as that of Beatrice Cenci, by *Guido Reni*.

V

SUBIACO

EXCURSION TO SUBIACO

IT has been remarked that there are hardly any mediæval remains in Rome, and if the traveller wants to fill the gap between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries, he will only find it possible to do so effectually in the neighbourhood of Rome by going to Subiaco, a place about forty-five miles east of the city. It is possible to have some six hours at the monasteries between the morning and evening trains. It is worth while to make an effort to visit this place, not only for its associations as the cradle of Western monasticism, but also as affording a dramatic contrast to the effects of the ecclesiasticism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Roman churches.

S. Benedict lived here for thirty-five years, and the cave where he first took refuge is now one of the chapels in the monastery of the Sacro Speco.

The sixth century is regarded as one in which the ancient social system of the West was finally broken up. The Gothic wars caused the disintegration of classical life, and what remained after the Goths, suffered under the Lombards.

Nevertheless, in this century two things were accomplished that were destined to affect European civilization in a most powerful way. Between the years 529 and 533 the lawyers of Justinian reduced Roman law to an orderly condition. About the same time S. Benedict framed the rule under which European monasticism was

organized, and by means of which the higher life of the time was concentrated and vitalized. The Rule became like Roman law itself, one of the principal forces which formed the barbarism of the northern nations into the ordered and civilized life of modern times.

S. Benedict was born about the year 480, and was sent to Rome to be trained. The house where he lived is now the site of the Church of S. Benedict in Piscinula. From his childhood he is described as having carried an old man's heart, and when only thirteen years of age the luxury and vice of Rome so vexed his soul that he fled into the Sabine mountains, preferring to be "wisely unlearned," lest in the search for knowledge he should be led into vice. When he was fourteen, that is, in the year 494, he left the nurse who had accompanied him from Rome, and finding a cave in the valley of the Anio near Subiaco, he lived in it for three years. After passing through many temptations, his refuge became known, and disciples gathered in large numbers. Twelve monasteries were established, so that the cares of administration and the envy of neighbours alike pressed on a soul that desired "to live with itself." In 528 or 529 S. Benedict retired to Monte Cassino, guided on the way thither by angels, and there another monastery was built. It was at Monte Cassino that the Rule was written, and there also was given to him a famous vision. As he prayed and looked out from the window of a tower where he slept into the darkness of the night, there appeared a light brighter than the day. With a mind expanded by the power of God, he saw the whole world. Below him lay the "threshing floor," where his spiritual sons were to winnow the wheat from the mixed crop sown by the barbarian nations.

The Rule begins by setting up the standard to be aimed at. He who would dwell in the tabernacle of the Lord must walk without spot, work justice, and do no evil to his neighbour. The workshop for those who desire to excel in these things is the cloister. The monastery should be built so that there is within, a supply of water, a mill, a garden, a bakehouse, and means

for carrying on trades in order that none need go out from it. The abbot is to rule in everything, acting on his own judgment after taking counsel with the brethren. None ought to be admitted as brethren except after long trial. They must give up all property to the poor or to the monastery, they can have nothing of their own, not so much as power over their own bodies. Clothing is to be regulated according to climate, food is to be eaten at stated times, wine is allowed as a concession, but the flesh of four-footed beasts is forbidden. The day is spent in the divine offices (the whole of the Psalter is to be sung in each week), in reading, and in manual labour, all at stated hours, according to the seasons. There is to be no distinction of persons except as one may surpass another in good works. The will must be completely surrendered; obedience must be yielded, not only to those in authority, but by one brother to his fellow. Self-dicipline and humility alone form the ladder by means of which heaven can be reached.

It would be hard to imagine anything more lovely than the valley of the Anio in spring. It was famous in the time of the early Emperors for its beauty. The Emperor Claudius dammed up the torrent to make a lake, and Nero had a pleasure-palace on its banks. It may seem strange that the artistically minded Nero and the ascetic Benedict, flying from the world, should have been attracted to the same spot. Here nature is at once sternly savage and inexpressibly beautiful. No scene could have more fully gratified the æsthetic sensibility of the Emperor, and in the sixth century few spots could have been more remote from the haunts of men, than the cliffs which overhang the Anio.

The community which S. Benedict left at Subiaco has maintained its existence down to our own time. Its fortunes have been fluctuating and various, for many episodes in the history of the order show that the monks of Subiaco have borne a resemblance to those brethren of Vico Vara, who vexed the soul of Benedict. Gregory IX (1227–41) found it necessary to associate a layman with the representative of the monks who sat in

the courts of the territories over which the abbot ruled. In 1276 one of the monks, taking advantage of the death of an abbot, seized the monastery and proclaimed himself the temporal ruler of its possessions. During the times of the Avignon Papacy discipline became so lax that Urban VI (1378–89) deprived the monks of the privilege of electing the abbot. In 1454 an act of arbitrary vengeance, when some youths belonging to the town of Subiaco were hanged, led to a popular rising, and many of the brethren were killed. For a time in the latter part of the fifteenth century Cardinal Borgia held the abbacy. During the sixteenth century members of the house of Colonna followed one another as abbots, and they were succeeded by the Barberini family, which ruled until the middle of the eighteenth century. Benedict XIV (1740–58) deprived the abbots of secular jurisdiction. Cardinal Braschi was abbot for a short time before he became Pope as Pius VI.

From the railway station drive to the bridge over the Anio, passing through the town of Subiaco. A footpath leads from the bridge to the two monasteries. The Sacro Speco, which is farthest off, should be visited first. Besides the buildings inhabited by the monks, there are two churches, an upper and lower, and a number of chapels connected by passages and staircases. The whole is built against a steep, rocky face of the mountain side, so that we constantly find frescoed walls on one side of us and the live rock on the other. The monasteries were successively destroyed by Lombards and Saracens, and restored again between the years 601–840. The present buildings are for the most part in the pointed style of architecture which was introduced into Italy at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth. Most of the walls have been covered with frescoes varying in date from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. Many of these works are refined and beautiful examples of early Italian art, but there is not much evidence of the power and energy that mark the frescoes at Assisi.

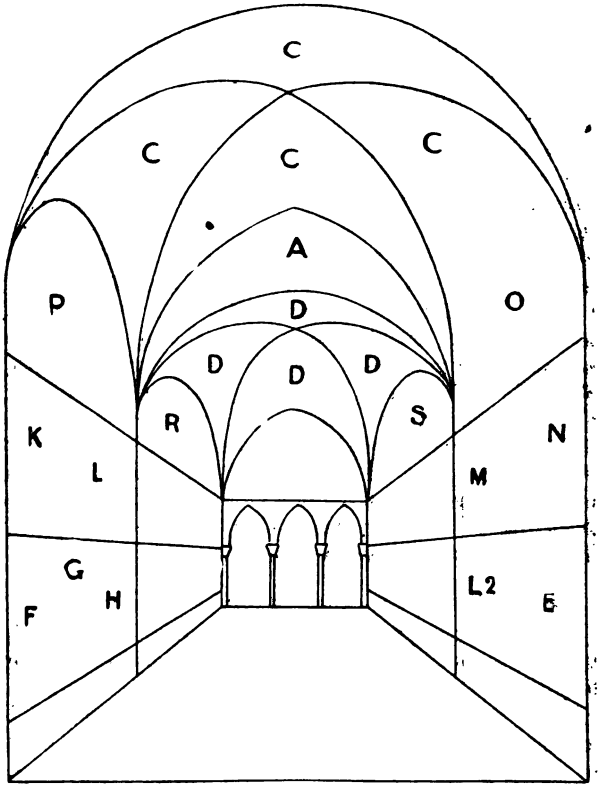
The monument, as a whole, is probably the most picturesque, as it is one of the most impressive embodiments of the mediæval ideal. On account of the situation of the churches and chapels, built as they are against the face of the rock, light enters from one side only. This considerably adds to the effect of many parts of the building. A long stairway which leads us from the upper church, through the middle church where there is the cave of S. Benedict, past the chapel of the Virgin, and by the grotto where S. Benedict met his disciples to the rose-garden, may truly be likened to a ladder of perfection. Wherever we turn we see some evidence of the faith that can move mountains, some grave assertion of the ascetic ideal, some witness that life is more than meat. If the fear of death is kept before our eyes, as the Rule orders, so also is the life that has conquered death. The apostles, the evangelists, the doctors, the cloistered followers of Benedict, the preaching brethren of S. Dominic, the simple sons of S. Francis, the holy women who offered themselves to torture and to death in order that man might find a new source of strength and a higher ideal, all these look down on us wherever we turn. On every hand we are reminded of the long story of suffering, of self-denial, of warfare with evil, of love, and of hope, on which rests our common humanity.

Monastery of the Sacro Speco. Upper Church

Over the entrance to the monastery is a small cross in marble mosaic. A groined passage leads to an anteroom where there are damaged frescoes.

We next enter the **nave** of the upper church. It is divided into two bays, the first being much higher than the second. The transept is entered from the nave through archways. The result of these peculiarities of construction is that there are two perpendicular wall surfaces at **A and B,** on plan **XXV.** The first has a large picture of the Crucifixion, which holds the attention of the visitor on entering. It is of the historical type. S. Mary Magdalen grasps the foot of the cross, angels gather the blood which flows from the wounds. The

soul of the good thief Duzmas is carried off by an angel, and a devil seizes the soul of Gesmas. The other perpendicular surface at B, which serves to separate the



Plan xxv. Nave, Upper Church, Subiaco.

nave from the transept, has a fresco probably intended to represent the presentation of the family of S. Benedict to S. Gregory the Great. S. Benedict presents his mother, S. Maurus the father. To the extreme right there is a picture of Leo IV, who is honoured as one who

aided the monks in the convents of the Sacro Speco and Sta. Scholastica. On the groining of the roof of the first bay, at **C**, there are prophets and evangelists. On the roof of the second bay, at **D**, there are the four doctors of the Latin Church.

On the side walls of the first bay there is a series of the Passion.

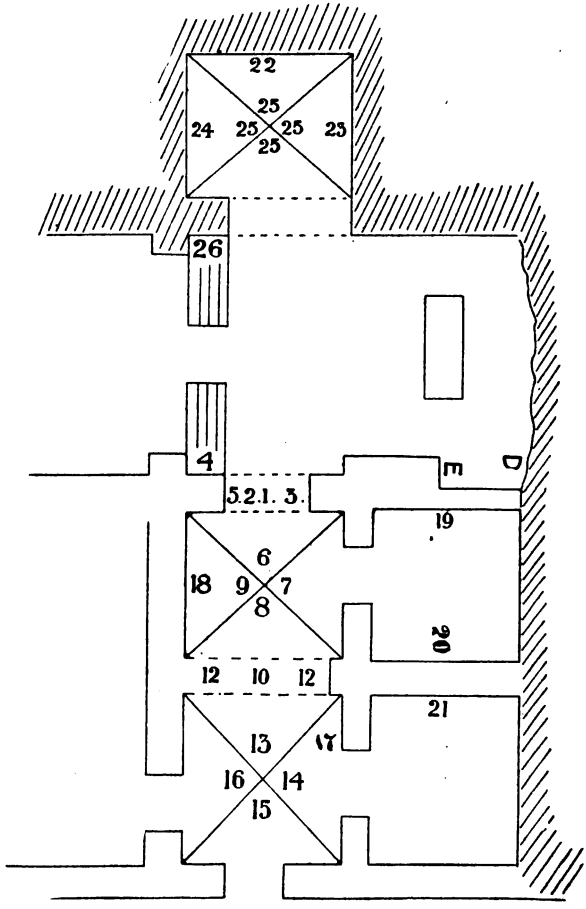
(**E**) Triumphal Entry. (**F**) The scene of the betrayal in the garden. (**G**) Pulpit or reading-desk. (**H**) The Scourging. (**K**) Christ before Pilate. (**L**) Bearing the Cross. (**La**) The Marys at the Tomb. (**M**) "Noli me tangere." (**N**) Incredulity of Thomas. (**O**) The Ascension. (**P**) Descent of the Holy Spirit.

In the lunettes of the second bay:

(**R**) Temptation of S. Benedict. This happened in the time of his youth, when memories of his worldly experience troubled him. He had almost made up his mind to leave the wilderness when the spirit within him was suddenly roused, and, flinging himself into a bed of nettles and thorns, he healed the anguish of his soul by the torment of his body. Seven centuries later S. Francis planted roses on that "glorious battlefield," and there they still grow. (**S**) The Poisoned Cup. When the fame of S. Benedict had spread abroad the monks of a convent at Vico Varo prayed that he would come and rule over them. He warned them of his manner of life, but their persistence overcame his objection. The new customs, however, proved as odious as S. Benedict had foreseen that they would. To rid themselves of him they poisoned the wine, and when the cup was offered to him that he might bless it, at the sign of the cross it broke in pieces. So, perceiving their wickedness, he returned to his solitude. In the convent of S. Cosimato, two miles from Vico Varo, the cavernous refectory where the poisoned cup was offered is still to be seen, with a rude painting of the incident.

The right transept. The end of the choir is live rock. The altar has a Gothic canopy, ornamented with marble mosaic. To the right of the altar there is a recess. On the side marked **D**, plan **xxvi**, there is a fresco with S.

Scholastica and two other saints. On the opposite side, at **E**, the two great founders of monasticism, SS. Basil and Benedict, are painted. Turning to the right transept, there is on the underside of the entrance arch: in the



Plan xxvi. Transepts, Upper Church, Subiaco.

centre (1) Christ; to the right (2) The last meal of Sta. Scholastica and S. Benedict. It was the custom of the brother and sister to meet once a year. And on the last occasion when they sat at meat Sta. Scholastica begged S. Benedict that he would not leave her this night. He refused her, saying that he could not stay out of his monastery. In answer to her prayer there came such a storm that he was forced to remain; and thus, although he would not hear her, God heard her, and they spent the night in spiritual discourse. (3) Three days after Sta. Scholastica had returned to her place S. Benedict saw her soul leave the body and enter the celestial kingdom in the shape of a dove. On the jamb of the entrance (5) an angel brings bread and water to S. Benedict. On the outer face of the arch (4) there is a painting of S. Sebastian dated 1488. The right transept is divided into two bays, and from each of these a chapel opens to the left. On the roof of the first bay there are painted (6) S. Augustine, (7) S. Francis, (8) S. Bernardinino, and (9) S. Dominic. In the side chapel there is (19) the Death of Sta. Scholastica, and (20) the Death of S. Gregory the Great. Opposite to the chapel there is on the side wall (18) the martyrdom of Placidus. On the upper side of the arch, dividing the two bays of the transept, there is (10) The Hand of the Almighty, and (12,12) S. Catherine of Alexandria and S. Agnese. On the pilaster (11) S. John the Baptist. On the roof of the second bay (13) S. Andrew, (14) S. James, (15) S. Paul, (16) S. Barnabas.

In the chapel to the left there is (21) the Martyrdom of S. Paul, and on the right wall of the transept (17) SS. Peter and John heal the cripple at the gate of the Temple.

The sacristy opens to the right from the second bay of the right transept.

The left transept of the upper church abuts on the live rock, and is exceedingly small in consequence. The principal picture is the Crucifixion (22). Opposite the entrance: On the roof (25, 25) there are four prophets with scrolls now hardly visible. Monsignor Barbier de Montault gives the texts. Daniel (IX. 26) prophesies of the death of

Christ. David (Ps. II. 2) declares how the world will set itself against Him. Isaiah (LIII. 7) shows how He will offer Himself in humility. David (Ps. XXII. 16, 17) tells of the suffering, and Amos (VIII. 9) prophesies of the darkness at noonday. On the side wall (23) Mary kneels before Christ, and begs that He will bring Lazarus to life. On the wall opposite (24) Lazarus rises out of the tomb. On the wall close to the entrance of this small transept there is (26) a fresco of Madonna and Child with S. Benedict to the right and S. Onofrio to the left. Above there is just visible a S. Christopher carrying the Child.

Middle Church

The middle church is reached by stairs leading down from the transept of the upper church. The first bay is on a higher level than the other two, of which the middle church is composed. The standpoint in the plan is supposed to be on the higher of the three bays, at the foot of the steps. The doorway (**A, plan xxvii**) leads to the chapel of S. Gregory. The door at **B** leads into the chapel, originally the cave where S. Benedict lived. The archway at **C** leads to the staircase going down to the chapels below and to the rose-garden. The door **D** leads into the monks' chapel.

The entire roof of the middle church has been painted There has, however, been a good deal of restoration. In the third bay from our standpoint the central figure is Christ (**27**). He is surrounded by the apostles SS. John (28), Peter (29), Andrew (31), and Paul (30). The scroll is founded on John XIV. 6: "I am the way, the truth, and the life to him who believes."

The central figure in the second bay is that of S. Benedict (32). He is surrounded by SS. Maurus (33), Honorat (34), Placidus (36), and Romanus (35). The legend on the scrolls is from Psalm XXXIV. 1: "I will bless the Lord at all times; His praise shall continually be in my mouth." On the lines of the vault there are painted S. Sylvester, S, Lawrence, S. Gregory, and the deacon Peter. The scroll of S. Lawrence bears on it the legend: "He hath dispersed, He hath

ver"

e the

(39),

The frescoes on the walls, beginning at the left hand, are: (42) The mending of the broken sieve, an incident of the first journey of S. Benedict from Rome. His nurse having borrowed a sieve, it was accidentally broken. When Benedict saw how she grieved he took the sieve; and after praying over it, it was found to be whole. When the people of the place knew, they hung up the sieve in the church porch. This happened at Affile, a village about four miles from Subiaco, and when the fame of the saint went abroad he left his nurse and set out to find a more remote place. As he journeyed towards Subiaco a monk named Romanus gave him a religious habit. Below this fresco there is a picture of the Resurrection. (43) S. Thomas, archbishop, with SS. Nicholas and Stephen. (44) Maurus rescues Placidus from drowning. Placidus, having gone to the lake to draw water, fell in and was carried away from the bank. This was shown to S. Benedict in his cell, and he bade Maurus run and fetch him out. When the youth was brought to land, Maurus perceived that he had run upon the water. S. Benedict attributed the miracle to the ready obedience of Maurus, while Maurus ascribed it to the virtue of S. Benedict. The youth declared that as he was drawn out he saw the abbot's hood over him: and so it was settled. (45) Death of S. Benedict. He foretold the time of his death, and caused a grave to be dug. When he felt his end near he was carried into the oratory; supported by his disciples, he received the Sacrament, and lifting up his hands in prayer, he died before the altar. (46) Miraculous recovery of the axe. A Goth who had become a disciple was hewing among the briars near the lake, when the iron flying from the handle, fell into the water. Having confessed his fault, S. Benedict came to his aid, and, taking the handle, threw it into the water, when the blade at once rose to the surface and joined itself to the wood. (47) Woman saint.

On the end wall round about the window there are the following pictures: (48) Christ, (49) S. Benedict, (50) Sta. Scholastica, (51) The Poisoned Loaf. Floren-

tius, a neighbouring priest, becoming jealous of the popularity of S. Benedict, sent an offering of poisoned bread. (52) S. Benedict, knowing of the poison, gave it to a crow which came daily to take food from his hand, and bade it take the loaf and put it where none could find it.

On the right-hand wall at 53 Pope Gregory confers a bull. At 54 there is a fresco of Christ, in a mandorla, attended by angels.

At the side of the stairs leading down from the upper church there is on one side a picture of Innocent III presenting the bull given to the Abbey in 1213, to S. Benedict. On the other side Madonna and Child. The painting is signed by Conxolus.

From the high floor of the middle church we turn to the right and pass through the door A on the plan XXVII into a passage where the live rock bounds one side. The side wall and the under sides of the various archways have been frescoed generally with the pictures of angels, or women saints such as Matilda, Scholastica, and Apollonia. At the end of the passage to the left there is a fifteenth-century "Last Judgment." From the mouth of Christ, who is seated on a rainbow, there proceeds a lily and a sword, and in like manner one scroll, founded on Matthew XXV. 34, bears on it the words, "Come ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you," while the other, from Matthew XXV. 41, bids the wicked depart into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels. Madonna and S. John the Baptist kneel praying for mercy, while the scroll of S. Jerome bewails the day of tribulation, anguish, and misery, of confusion and tumult, the consummation of consummations. On the wall at right angles there is a poor fresco of the mocking of Christ.

At the end of the passage there is

The Chapel of S. Gregory

In 1223 Gregory IX came to Subiaco to pray for the intercession of S. Benedict on account of plague and earthquake. On one side of the chapel is the rock, on the other

there is a window, at one side of which Pope Gregory is painted in the act of consecrating an altar. On the entrance wall there is a famous picture of S. Francis. He visited the monastery and planted roses on the traditional site where S. Benedict overcame temptation by rolling among thorns. These roses still flourish in the garden at the bottom of the stairs.

On the vaulting of the roof there are the four evangelists, and on the lines of the vaulting there are the angels with six wings.

Grotto of S. Benedict

From the chapel of S. Gregory the visitor returns by the passage to the middle church and descends to the lower level. The chapel which has been formed out of the cave in which S. Benedict "lived with Himself" is entered at **B** on the plan. This is the Sacro Speco, but it contains nothing remarkable except a white marble statue in the taste and manner of the seventeenth century.

The archway at **C** on plan **xxvii** opens on to the **staircase** leading to other chapels and caves and to the rose garden at the bottom.

On the upper part of the staircase there is a remarkable example of the legend of the "Three dead and the three living."

Under the entrance arch at the top of the stairs are figures of SS. Catherine and Margaret. Under the arch at the bottom are the ascetics S. John the Baptist and S. Onofrio. On the vaulting of the staircase are SS. Augustine, Bernard, Francis, and Dominic. On the side walls there is the legend of life and death. To the left, as the visitor descends, he sees three youths who have been hunting and have ridden into a graveyard, where an old man shows them three graves, including those of a princess and a king. They are warned that by no seeking after joy nor by rejoicing, however glad, can they avoid death. Death spares neither the proud nor the rich. The dead were once what the living now are, and what the dead are to-day the living may be to-morrow.

One of the youths is touched, and remains with the old man. The other two ride off to continue their pleasure. And on the wall opposite Death is attacking them with his sword.

As we descend the stairs, with this "Triumph of Death" on each side we are met with a picture over our heads of the Baptism of Christ, a symbol of the beginning of new life over which death has no power.

Chapel of the Virgin

Beyond the pictures of the "Triumph of Death" the chapel of the Virgin opens directly from the staircase to the left. The note of this chapel is the relationship of Madonna on the one hand to Christ, and on the other hand to mankind. On the underside of the entrance arch at **1, plan xxviii,** and **(2)** there are figures of David and Isaiah bearing scrolls, "Homo natus est in ea" (Ps. LXXXVII. 5), and "Ecce virgo concipiet" (Isa. VII. 14).

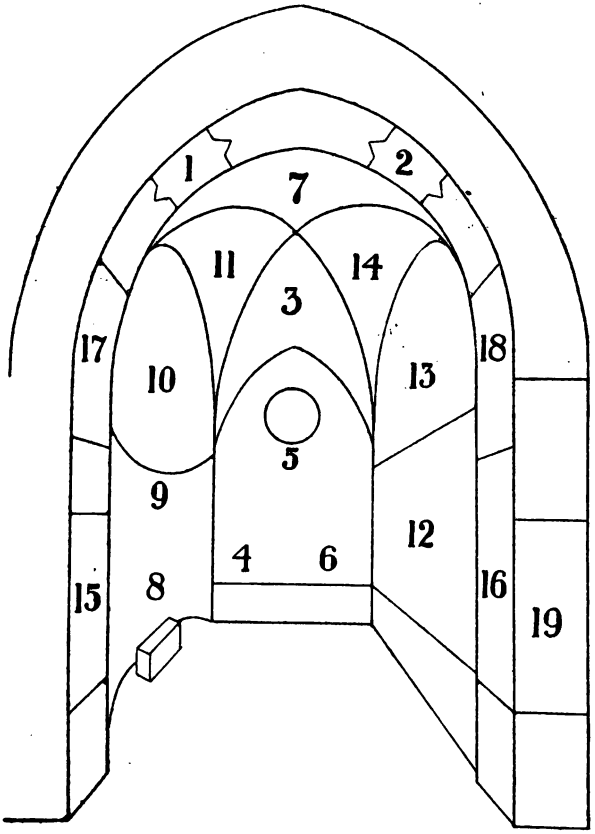
As we stand in the entrance facing the window and with the altar to our left there is on the groining of the roof opposite (3) the Annunciation. On the wall below (4) is the Nativity, (5) the Annunciation of the Shepherds, and (6) the Adoration of the Magi. The Presentation in the Temple is on the groining (7) over our heads. The Massacre of the Innocents is not seen on the plan.

Over the altar to the left is the Crucifixion (8) with Madonna and S. John at the foot of the cross. To the right of the Crucifixion stands S. Benedict, and to the left SS. Maurus and Placidus. Above the Crucifixion Madonna and Child (9) have on the right S. Sylvester, and on the left S. Gregory. Above (10) the souls are rising out of the tombs, and on the groining (11) Madonna gathers under her mantle all conditions of men.

On the walls opposite the altar there is painted the Death of the Virgin (12), above in the lunette (13) Christ and the Madonna are enthroned and encircled by angels making music, and on the groining of the roof Madonna is crowned (14).

On the inner side of the archway there are two deacons;

to the left (15), S. Stephen, to the right (16) S. Lawrence. Above to the left (17), Sta. Scholastica, and to the



Plan xxviii. Chapel of the Death of the Virgin, Subiaco.

right (18), Sta. Anatolia. At the right-hand of the entrance there is a fresco representing S. Gregory the Great (19).

Grotto of the Pastors

Leaving the Chapel of the Virgin and going down to the bottom of the staircase, we reach the cave where S. Benedict is said to have communed with those who had been set over the various bodies of brethren in the surrounding country. The cave has been formed into a chapel, and in it there is a painting, perhaps of the eleventh century, representing Madonna and Child attended by SS. John and Lawrence (?). The Child, who gives the blessing, has a mature and somewhat severe air.

In the chapel beyond there is a Pietà. From this place the rose garden is entered. It is from this place that some general idea of the monastery may be gained. The arched bastions which carry the buildings spring from this level, and we can understand how the combination of live rock and masonry go to form the curious pile. The garden itself is full of the roses of S. Francis, and on the escarpments of the hillside there are great bushes of rosemary, tufts of wallflower, and other aromatic shrubs and plants. Far below the Anio, now little more than a torrent, cuts its way through a narrow gorge.

Sta Scholastica

On the way from the monastery of the Sacro Speco down to the road the visitor passes through the precincts of the monastery dedicated in the name of Sta. Scholastica. It is said to have been founded by S. Honorat, in the sixth century. It was rebuilt in the tenth century, and dedicated by Pope Benedict VII in 981. There is in one of the cloisters a curious bas-relief bearing this date; it represents a stag and a unicorn drinking from the chalice. The interior of the church has been entirely restored, in the taste of the eighteenth century. From the sacristy a long flight of steps descends to a grotto which has been formed into a chapel. The walls are covered with frescoes. Looking towards the altar, and beginning to the right hand, there are

scenes of the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt, the Baptism of Christ, the Temptation, and the Agony in the Garden. On the wall opposite to the altar is the Crucifixion. The frescoes above these represent the Apparition of S. Michael on Monte Gargano, the Fall of the Angels, and the persecutions of Antichrist, together with his punishment by S. Michael. In the roof Christ is seen in the act of blessing, surrounded by angels.

There are three cloisters connected with the monastery. The first is modern. The second is surrounded by dormitories. It has a Gothic doorway in the style of the fifteenth century. Between the second and third cloisters we pass the Gothic doorway of the church, and also the campanile, the latter attributed to Abbot Humbert, about the middle of the eleventh century.

The third cloister is said to date from 1235. It is the work of members of the Cosmati family, and belongs to the series at S. Paul's without the Walls, at S. John Lateran, and at the monastery of Sasso Vivo at Foligno. It is less ornate than the Roman examples, but, like them, it is a work of great delicacy and beauty.

Subiaco is famous in the annals of printing. It was in 1464 or 1465 that Conrad Sweyenheim, Arnold Pannartz, and Ulrich Hahn, came to Rome. They found no favour there, and sought shelter at Subiaco, where there were German monks. They printed *Donatus*, Cicero's *De Oratore*, Lactantius' *De divinis Institutionibus*, and in 1467 S. Augustine's *De civitate Dei*.

In the library at Sta. Scholastica there is still an interesting collection of books, including the Lactantius of 1465, the Augustine of 1467, and an example of the work printed in 1468, by Sweyenheim and Pannartz in the Pal, Massimi, on their return to Rome. There are also some choral books, and MSS. of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. There is a collection of papal bulls, amongst others those granted by Paschal II (1099–1118), Alexander III (1159–81), Lucius III (1181–85), and Gregory IX (1217–41). There are also autographs of Charles V, of Cardinal Baronius, and others.

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